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OR THE THREE REIGNS
OF EDWARD II, EDWARD III, AND RICHARD II

1307—1399

BY

SIR JAMES H. RAMSAY OF BAMFF
LL.D., LITT.D.

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME II

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Plan to illustrate Battle of Otterburn . . . . *to face p.* 260

ERRATA

p. 26, *note* (3) ; *for* William of Ufford II, who succeeded his father William I *read* William of Ufford, who succeeded his father Robert

p. 199, *lines* 4 *and* 9 ; *for* Ferrando *read* Fernando

p. 199, *last line but one* ; *for* Clementine *read* Urbanist

p. 235, *line* 12 ; *for* sister *read* daughter

p. 256 ; *line* 7, *omit* Salisbury ; *line* 8, *omit* all ; *and line* 9, *for* all three *read* both

p. 332, *margin* ; *for* 1399 *read* 1398

p. 348, *line* 5 *from bottom* ; *for* Dukes *read* Earls

p. 370, *last line* ; *between* suggestion *and* wrote *read* Gower

CHAPTER I

EDWARD III (*continued*)

A.D. 1369, 1370

Resumption of the War.—Hostilities in Aquitaine.—English losses.—Campaign of John of Gaunt in the North.—Further English losses in the South.—Sack of Limoges.—Return of the Prince of Wales to England, leaving Lancaster in command.—Campaign of Robert Knolles in the North.

THE French had long been preparing for a renewal of the struggle. The Duke of Anjou in Languedoc, and the Duke of Berri in Auvergne, were ready or ever war was declared, while the territories of the appellant lords were in a state of practical revolt. On the English side, Chandos, who had been living in retirement on his estate at Saint-Sauveur in the Cotentin, mortified at the rejection of his advice in the matter of the *fouage*—which he had opposed—at the call of duty promptly came forward again, and was placed at Montauban (*Tarn-et-Garonne*), to check any advance from Toulouse. Calverley, with a body of Free Lances from the Marches of Arragon, was brought to head-quarters at Angoulême, to act as might be required; while Simon Burley was posted on the borders of Poitou and Saintonge.[1] But the English captains had more than enough to do. The whole dominion was honeycombed with disaffection. The Count of Périgord was pledged to Charles; Rodez had already gone over; the nobility of Rovergue and Querci followed suit. The Archbishop of Toulouse preached the French cause assiduously, and moreover took care so to arrange matters that none but good 'Frenchmen' were appointed to benefices in the ceded districts. By March 1369 eight hundred places were already said to have 'turned French'.[2]

War in Aquitaine.

The Earl of Cambridge landed at Saint-Malo, and was welcomed by his friend and brother-in-law Duke John IV,[3]

[1] Froissart, I. 563, 567–569.

[2] Id. 571; Lavisse, IV. 229, 230.

[3] John in the summer of 1361 had married the Lady Mary, but she died within

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who sent him across the Loire at Nantes. Edmund also succeeded in enlisting the services of bands of freebooters who had been established, some at Vire in Normandy, and some at Château-Gonthier in Anjou. The adventurers were clever enough to sell their castles before evacuating them.[1] They were sent on in advance, to be presently employed under Calverley making havoc in Armagnac and Albret. The Earl himself was sent to reduce the highlands of Périgord, the expedition ending with the siege of Bourdeilles.[2] At the end of nine weeks the place was taken. On the other hand Burley, riding too carelessly, was defeated and taken prisoner at some place between Lusignan and Mirebeau-en-Poitou; while again in Poitou the French captured La-Roche-Posay on the Creuse.[3] This loss created a great stir at head-quarters, and Guichard d'Angle was recalled from Montauban to strengthen the garrison of Poitiers. The English not only wasted their forces in retaliatory raids, but also, unfortunately, they failed to act harmoniously together. The Duke of Anjou, encouraged by the success of the Archbishop's preaching missions in Querci, laid siege to Réalville (*Tarn-et-Garonne*). Chandos was unwilling to leave Montauban; the Earl of Cambridge refused to abandon his siege of Bourdeilles; so Réalville fell, and all the garrison were put to the sword. Against this we may set the storm, by the English, of "Briouse" or Bruse,[4] a place also belonging to Poitou, and the chief seat of the Sire de Chauvigny, who had turned French. Sixteen of the garrison were hung in their armour, the townspeople being put to the sword, or thrown into the river.[5]

Robert Knolles now made his appearance with men brought from his castles in Brittany.[6] He was sent to retrieve matters in Querci. His *prestige* immediately won

thirty weeks of her marriage. Froissart gives Cambridge 400 archers and as many men-at-arms, the correct number for once. See vol. I. 495, note.

[1] So Froissart, I. 568. [2] Dordogne, thirty miles south of Angoulême.

[3] Vienne, ten miles east of Châtellerault.

[4] Vienne, between Couhé and Chaunay, on a tributary of the Clain; Johnes, note to Froissart.

[5] Froissart, sup. and 571, 575, 576, 580–582; Vic et Vaissete, IV. 336–341.

[6] Froissart, 577, 578.

back to the English side troops of Gascon Free Lances. He then laid siege to Duravel, while Chandos attacked Moissac. Moissac yielded, but Duravel held out. Combining their forces, the two captains marched against Domme on the river Dordogne; Domme again defied their efforts, while Gramat and Roquemadour succumbed.[1] Villefranche in Rovergue was their next conquest; and then orders came from the Prince for Chandos to come to Angoulême, leaving Knolles and the Companies to carry on the work of reduction. The change of plan was unfortunate. Chandos was mortified at being superseded, while Knolles declared that he could not possibly take Sir John's place. Both therefore returned to head-quarters, the Companies being sent to find support in Limousin and Auvergne.[2] By this time Bourdeilles had fallen; the combined English forces therefore were sent against La Roche-sur-Yon, in Poitou. In the face of such a force the governor yielded, in fact something too readily, as the Duke of Anjou thought; who, in consequence, ordered him to be thrown into the Loire.[3] From these gleanings from Froissart the reader will see the desperate uphill character of the struggle that the English had to maintain. Unfortunately our chronicler does not furnish one single date. From another source we learn that Montauban had fallen in June;[4] if so the incidents that we have been recording must have mostly happened earlier in the year. Before its close the Agenais, Bigorre, Millau in Rovergue, and Tulle in the Limousin, were lost to the English.[5] On the whole it appears that the English were holding out better in the newly acquired

[1] Id. 578–581. Duravel is situate on the river Lot, to the west of Cahors; Moissac lies due south, on the river Tarn; Domme is in the department of the Dordogne, and Gramat and Roquemadour are in that of the Lot.

[2] Froissart, 581–583. These bands penetrated the Bourbonnais, and took Belleperche, where they captured Isabelle of Valois, mother of the Queen of France: wheeling westwards they took Saint-Sever, high up the Indre; Id. 583, 584. Montauban had gone over to the French by this time; the French seneschal took possession in September, Vic et Vaissete, IV. 342.

[3] Froissart, 585, 586. The Yon flows past Bourbon-Vendée and joins the Lay.

[4] Lavisse, IV. 234.

[5] Id.; Vic et Vaissete, IV. 342–345.

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northern districts of Poitou, than in the old Gascon province. Thus we hear of Chandos inviting Pembroke to join him in a raid through the Loudunois.[1] Pembroke allowed himself to be persuaded by his friends that it would be beneath the dignity of an earl to serve under a banneret; at all events they pointed out that if he went with Chandos, whatever happened, Chandos would get all the credit. Each therefore went his own way. Chandos having returned from Loudun up the valley of the Indre to Chavigny, heard that de Sancerre, the new Marshal of France,[2] was at La Haye on the Creuse. Again he begged Pembroke to co-operate, offering to meet him at Châtellerault; again Pembroke declined; the result was that the Marshal fell on Pembroke, as he was halting at midday at Puirenon, cut down six score of his men, and drove him into an old fortified house, formerly belonging to the Templars. From this predicament he was freed by the good nature of Sir John, who came to the rescue from Poitiers.[3] The Earl however was able to revenge himself by a subsequent raid through northern Poitou, and even into Anjou, where he left a garrison in the Abbey of Saint-Maur on the Loire, between Saumur and Angers.[4]

Death of Chandos.

The rescue of the Earl of Pembroke was one of the last exploits of gallant John Chandos. Five years before he had lost an eye while stag-hunting in the Landes, and on that account never wore a visor. He had led a party for a night attack on Saint-Savin, a place held by the French about thirteen miles east of Chauvigny and thirty from Poitiers. The affair failed through the arrival of a Franco-Breton party. These, apparently, being on the march south, an attempt was made to intercept them in the morning at the bridge of Lussac: the day was cold and frosty and Chandos in consequence was wearing a "*cotte d'armure*" (coat-armour), or long robe of samite, emblazoned with his arms, over his armour. Dismounting to assist a fallen esquire,

[1] Loudun is situate some fourteen miles south-west of Chinon on the Loire.

[2] Louis de Sancerre was made Marshal on the 20th June 1368, vice d'Audrehem, superannuated; Buchon, note to Froissart, I. 584.

[3] Froissart, 588–592.

[4] Froissart, 596 and note.

who was being sore pressed, he caught his foot in his robe and slipped on the frozen ground; as he stumbled the point of a spear (*glaive*) pierced him through the open visor. He was carried to Mortemer and died there on the morrow, almost within sight of the field of Poitiers. No man ever left a more unsullied reputation than John Chandos of Crécy, Poitiers, and Najara. A few weeks earlier his brother-in-arms James of Audley had been carried off by sickness at Fontenay-le-Comte.[1]

John of Gaunt in the North.

Little need be said of John of Gaunt's doings in the North; in fact the position he had to occupy was essentially a defensive one. Late in July he landed at Calais.[2] Hereford, Salisbury, and Manny were with him; Warwick followed somewhat later. Raiding parties were sent out forthwith, who carried fire and sword up to the walls of Aire, Thérouanne and Boulogne.[3] King Charles was at Rouen, superintending the equipment of an armament intended for descents on England, on which he was much bent, and so his brother the young Duke of Burgundy was sent to oppose Lancaster. Marching by Abbeville and Montreuil he came to Tournehem, where he established himself on a little hill.[4] The English were found to be posted a few miles off, between Guisnes and Ardres, within their own territory, and in fact on "Calkuly", 'Chalk Hill', the boundary given in the treaty of Brétigny.[5] Afraid to attack them there Philip remained at Tournehem; John of Gaunt could not venture on the offensive; and so the two hosts watched each other day after day, without attempting anything

[1] Froissart, I. 599–603; Chandos Herald, 315. Sir John died unmarried and childless, and the Prince appropriated his fortune. However we find a niece, Elizabeth Chandos, receiving £120 for the surrender of her claims on Saint-Sauveur; Issues, Devon, 198. A monument, still kept up by the French, marks the spot where Chandos fell.

[2] He signs there, 26 July, Delpit, Documents Français, 128. According to Mr. Armitage Smith, John of Gaunt had some 600 men-at-arms and 1,500 archers, "John of Gaunt," p. 72.

[3] Froissart; Grandes Chroniques.

[4] "La montaigne de Tournehem;" Grandes Chroniques.

[5] The writers are confused as to the hill or hills occupied by the armies. The Chroniques state that the French held a hill at Tournehem; and the Continuator of Murimuth identifies this with "Calkuly", which is clearly wrong. The English were evidently on Chalk Hill, between Guisnes and Ardres, whether the French occupied any hill in the valley of Tournehem or not.

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beyond individual skirmishing. Idle parleys were held with a view to arranging for a pitched battle, but, of course, nothing came of them. The English camp, boxed up on a little hill, was in a very bad state, and the French with their superior numbers ought to have starved them out; but as it was the French knights were the first to tire of the situation. On the night of the 12th September Burgundy fired his camp, retired to Saint-Omer, and disbanded his army,[1] a most extraordinary proceeding, as it left the country again at the mercy of the English. Accordingly, after a brief interval Lancaster started on a fresh tour of devastation through Ponthieu, Vimeu and Caux, making for Rouen, where he hoped to destroy the French fleet. But it had already crossed the Channel and burnt Portsmouth.[2] Harfleur was John's turning-point; the Rouen dockyard, the *Clos des Galées*, was on the left, or further bank of the Seine, so there was nothing to be done in that quarter, and he returned to Calais with ranks sadly thinned by want and sickness. The plague was raging in France, as well as in England, and the harvest had been a failure, the worst since 1316.[3] Lancaster's army had felt the pressure of both afflictions. Chief of those who succumbed to the pestilence was the veteran Earl Marshal, Thomas Beauchamp, the fighting Earl of Warwick. He died at Calais on the 13th November aged about 56 years.[4] Six days later Lancaster took ship for England. The expenditure for the dismal half-year rose in round numbers to £154,000, the highest yet reached. Of this upwards of £33,000 can be traced to payments made to Lancaster and his men.[5]

After the death of Chandos the operations in Aquitaine languished for a while, but the tide of desertion from the

[1] Grandes Chroniques, VI. 318; Murimuth, 206; Froissart, I. 584, 585, 587, 594.

[2] Foed. III. 880.

[3] Murimuth, Cont. 305; Rogers, Prices, I. 213, II. 147. Wheat next summer ranged from 10*s*. to 20*s*.

[4] Complete Peerage; Warwick's righteous soul was much vexed with Lancaster's inactivity at Calais; Murimuth, sup.; Eulog. Hist. III. 336; he wanted to lead his men against the French 'while the English bread was still in their bellies'; Chron. Angliae (Thompson), 63.

[5] Pell Issue Roll, Easter 43 Edw. (Devon).

English side still flowed on; those who were afraid to join the French openly left the country, to avoid giving succour to the English.[1] Thomas Percy, afterwards Earl of Worcester,[2] was made Seneschal of Poitou in the place of Chandos; but, before he was well installed the French had recovered Châtellerault by escalade. The Duke of Bourbon made a filial effort to rescue his mother, the Duchess-dowager, who was a prisoner in the hands of a band of English Free Lances, established in her own castle of Belleperche in the Bourbonnais. He subjected the castle to a severe bombardment, but the Earls of Cambridge and Pembroke marched to the rescue, effected a junction with their friends in the castle, and carried them off, Duchess and all, without molestation, leaving the empty fortress to the French.[3] In Paris it was felt that a competent general was their greatest want. The aid of Du Guesclin was therefore once more invoked. Obedient to the summons of his King the stout Breton again threw up his engagements in Spain, and returned to France. The plan of operations finally adopted was that the Duke of Anjou should lead one army from Toulouse down the valley of the Garonne against La Réole; while the Duke of Berri led another army from Auvergne against Limoges. Those places once taken, the two would combine for an attack on the English head-quarters at Angoulême. A third army would be held in reserve by the Duke of Burgundy.[4] Du Guesclin, who had been promised the Constable's Baton of France, would be chief of the general staff.

In England the King, likewise, was arranging his plan of campaign. The two men in whom he resolved to put his trust were the Duke of Lancaster and Robert Knolles; the latter was held by English and French alike the ablest captain of all the Free Lances, and Edward had recalled

[1] Froissart, I. 603, 605. The Earl of Bedford, Ingelram de Coucy, who had married the Lady Isabelle, was one of these. For the French progress in Querci and Rovergue see Vic et Vaissete, IV. 344.

[2] Froissart, sup. Younger brother of Henry Percy of Alnwick.

[3] Froissart, 605–607. The Prince found great fault with the adventurers for laying hands upon a noble duchess, and forced them to exchange her for Simon Burley; Id. 609.

[4] Froissart, 608 and notes; Vic et Vaissete, sup.

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him from Aquitaine to advise on the situation. He was appointed to lead an expedition into Picardy, with unlimited powers to act as King's Lieutenant, outside Aquitaine. John of Gaunt would go to Aquitaine, with powers virtually enabling him to supersede his brother. John was probably one of those who in 1368 had advised the King to disregard the Prince's warnings. The Prince's warnings having been fully verified, the cry now was that the revolt had been caused by the Prince's harshness and want of tact, and that a liberal expenditure of pardons and honours would soon win back the rebellious Gascons.[1]

The French were the first to move; by the middle of July the Duke of Anjou and Du Guesclin had met at Toulouse, and the army was started forthwith. Their march down the right bank of the Garonne was a series of triumphs. Moissac, Agen, Port-Sainte-Marie opened their gates at once. Even Aiguillon, which had defied the efforts of the Duke of Normandy in 1346, yielded on the fourth day. Tonneins followed suit. La Linde on the Dordogne was only saved by the promptitude of Thomas Felton, who, riding from Bergerac, entered by one gate just as the garrison were about to open the other gate to the French.[2] The Duke then concluded to rest on his laurels. The Pyrenean lords were sent home to guard their own territories, while the Duke himself marched into Querci; and Du Guesclin was sent to assist the Duke of Berri at the siege of Limoges.[3] Du Guesclin arrived in time to assist in settling

[1] See the commissions of the two; Foed. III. 890–894; Delpit, 129; both commissions are dated 1st July. The document of the 5th November 1370, given by Froissart, seems a mere fabrication. Lancaster sailed from Plymouth 20 July–18 August with 300 men-at-arms and 500 archers; Issue Roll, 44 Edw. III. 99, 212, 275 (Devon). Walter Hewet had preceded him (26 June–4 July) with 200 men-at-arms and 300 archers; Id. 142, 174, 274. The rates of pay for the men going to Aquitaine were high knights 4*s*. and 3*s*. a day; esquire men-at-arms, 2*s*.; archers, 12*d*. Nearer home the men-at-arms received 12*d*. and the archers 6*d*., p. 268. The highest rates for carpenters and masons at this time were 5*d*. and 6*d*. a day; Rogers, I. 322.

[2] Froissart, I. 610–612. Rodez, Figeac, Montauban, Millau, and Sarlat had received formal charters from Charles, Sismondi, XI. 145, citing Ordonn. de France, V. 255–268; Vic et Vaissete, IV. 342–345. Sarlat is in Périgord, Dept. Dordogne.

[3] Froissart, I. 616. The Duke was at Cahors in the course of August, and at Toulouse by the end of the month; Vic et Vaissete.

the terms of the capitulation. Calverley had left some English lances in the fort; but the Bishop Jean de Cros was the master of the place, and his sympathies were with his countrymen. Limoges, accordingly, 'turned French' (21 August). The Duke of Berri contented himself with leaving a hundred men-at-arms to garrison the place, and next day retired to watch the movements of Robert Knolles, who was committing havoc in the North.[1] The Prince was infuriated by the defection of Limoges. The Bishop was a man in whom he had placed especial confidence. He swore that he would attend to nothing till he had recovered the town and punished the traitors. His temper, perhaps, had been already tried by the arrival of Lancaster and his commission. Every available man was marched to the siege; unable to ride a horse, the Prince started for his last campaign on a litter. Bishop de Cros and the hapless "*bourgeoisie*" began to repent, but the French knights who were in command were determined to hold out to the utmost. The town being too strong to be carried by assault the Prince had recourse to mining operations. Night and day he kept his sappers at work, undisturbed by the manœuvres of Du Guesclin who endeavoured to distract his attention by overrunning the Limousin. At the end of six days the works were complete; the props were fired,[2] and at daybreak on the 19th of September a large piece of the wall collapsed. The English footmen rushed in, a gate was secured, and the city was won. Then ensued the too notorious massacre of Limoges. Man, woman and child were butchered without mercy; the Prince from his litter hounding his men on to their bloody work. The offending Bishop, of course, and the chivalry were saved, but nothing else was saved. When there were no more townsfolk left to kill, the English sheathed their swords. Pillage and fire closed the tragedy. This incident has been represented as a single stain on a fair scutcheon. It was in fact the closing act of a life spent in brutal warfare. Countless

[1] Froissart, I. 611, 616; 24, 25 August, Armitage Smith, 81; Lavisse, IV 237.

[2] There is nothing to indicate that gunpowder was used—"les mineurs étayoient leur mine . . . lors bouterent le feu en leur mine," &c.; Froissart.

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places from Caen to Carcassonne had met, more or less, with similar treatment. But the malignant purpose evinced by the Prince gives a lurid pre-eminence to the day of Limoges.[1]

Having wreaked his vengeance on Limoges the Prince resigned himself to going home. The doctors insisted on a change of air. But, before leaving Aquitaine he had to arrange for its government after his departure. On the 11th October he sealed documents at Cognac, appointing his brother John his Lieutenant, and surrendering Aquitaine into his hands.[2] Still loth to leave his principality, Edward remained in the South till winter was on the turn. His last hours were saddened by the loss of his first-born, Edward of Angoulême, just seven years old. Too ill to attend the funeral, he had to leave that and other duties to the Duke of Lancaster. In February or March he took ship, with the Princess and his surviving son, Richard of Bordeaux, the future Richard II. The Earl of Pembroke went with him. In due course the Royal squadron reached Plymouth.[3] The Prince presented himself at Windsor, to pay his respects to the King, and then retired to spend most of his remaining days in the healthy retirement of Berkhampstead.[4]

Knolles justified the King's confidence and his own reputation; he led his little army, largely recruited with

[1] Froissart, I. 617, 619, 620. His narrative is highly coloured, no doubt, and he styles the victims "martyrs", a token that he wrote this passage under French influences, but the essential facts are admitted by the English writers; Murimuth, Cont. 209; Walsingham, I. 311; Chandos Herald, 320, 322; the last glories in the deed. See also the notes to Froissart, ed. Luce, vol. VII. cx–cxiii; but especially the Aquitanian Chronicles; "L'an MCCCLXX fo destruita la siutat de Lemodoges per monsehnor lo prince de Anglaterra." Petite Chronique de Guienne, s. 62. "Item a quel an meteyss a xix iorns de mes de Setembre fou preza e destrucha la ciutat de Lymotoges per lo princep de Galas"; Petit Thalamus, Chronique Romane, cited Armitage Smith, "John of Gaunt," 81, and Luce sup. The writer of the Petite Chronique must have been one of the Prince's men, as he calls him "monsehnor".

[2] Delpit, Documents Français, 130, 179; Register of John of Gaunt, I. 6. (Armitage Smith, Camden Soc. 1911).

[3] Froissart, 625; Walsingham, I. 312. The Prince signs at Bordeaux 24 February 1371. He had entered or passed by London before the 19th April; Riley, Memorials, 352.

[4] Walsingham, sup.; Barnes, 815.

volunteers,[1] and numbering just 1,412 men-at-arms and 1,436 archers, 2,848 men all told,[2] from Calais to the gates of Paris, and from thence through the heart of France into Maine, and ultimately into the friendly territory of Bretagne, without having suffered the smallest check, or even found an enemy prepared to cross swords with him. But, again, it was a mere raid, without other object than devastation. Late in July he landed at Calais, and, without loss of time, began his march through Artois and Picardy. No sieges were attempted, but the open country was ravaged, except where the people were willing to pay for immunity, a system very necessary, where the military chest had to support itself. One of the causes of Knolles's success as privateersman was his moderation, and judgement in not squeezing the people beyond what they could bear. A French force watched his movements, but kept out of reach, just as he kept out of reach of the walled cities. So he advanced, past Noyon, across the Oise and Aube in succession, and so on towards Troyes, where the Seine was crossed; and then the army continued by Saint-Florentin to Joigny, where they effected the passage of the Yonne. Knolles then boldly marched on Paris by way of Nemours and Corbeil. On Sunday, 22nd September, he halted at Ablon, on the left bank of the Seine, opposite Villeneuve-Saint-Georges. Two days later he marched his men in defiant array up to the very barrier of Saint-Marcel. Once more King Charles had to endure the sight of blazing suburbs, as Villejuif, Arcueil, and Gentilly were given to the flames.[3] De Clisson consoled him with the cynical remark that after all it was but smoke, and that the English could never smoke him out of France. As the French would not come out to fight, Sir Robert drew back to Antony, and next day turned westwards towards Maine.[4]

[1] Foed. III. 890.

[2] K. R. Excheq. "Army", Bundle 30, No. 25; for the shipping (about 1,000 tons), Id. No. 24. The Grandes Chroniques, VI. 323, give Knolles 1,600 lances and 2,500 archers. On the Pell Issue Roll, Easter, 44 Edw., we find that 8,464 horses were shipped, p. 269 (Devon).

[3] Grandes Chroniques, VI. 324; Froissart, I. 613–618 and notes.

[4] Grandes Chroniques, sup.; Froissart, 613.

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But his chief difficulties were with his subordinates. The young men of birth looked upon him as an adventurer. After leaving Paris they became utterly insubordinate; John Minsterworth, a Gloucestershire knight, who had brought the largest contingent next to that of Knolles, assumed the leadership of the malcontents, and, breaking off from the army, took a line of his own. Du Guesclin, who had been summoned from the Limousin, and raised to the high office of Constable of France, fell upon him at Pont-Vallain[1] on the borders of Anjou, and utterly defeated him. This brought the campaign to a close. Knolles retired to his estate at Derval in Brittany, and disbanded his forces.[2] Minsterworth managed to escape from the field of Pont-Vallain, and, returning to England, had the effrontery to tax Knolles with treason. Public opinion scouted the calumny, but the King, very meanly, affected to think that there must be something in it; and Knolles had to pay heavily to be admitted to grace.[3] Minsterworth went from bad to worse; he took service with the French king; was eventually captured, brought to England, and executed as a traitor (21 March 1377).[4]

Death of Urban V.

The year (1370) ended with the death of Pope Urban. After two years' residence in Rome, feeling his strength failing, like a good Frenchman, he returned to France to die; on the 19th December he breathed his last. On the 30th of the month Pierre Roger de Beaufort, a man of good family, and nephew to Clement VI, was elected; on the 5th January 1371 he was consecrated and crowned, under the style of Gregory XI. A man of blameless morals, a canonist, apt and pleasant in the dispatch of business, his one weakness was nepotism, "the last infirmity" of the Papacy.[5]

[1] On the Aune, a tributary of the Loir, and about fifteen miles East of La Flèche.

[2] Froissart, I. 621–623; Walsingham, I. 310. Du Guesclin was made Constable on the 2nd October; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 325. The date of the action at Pont-Vallain is not given; but it must have been fought after the 2nd October, indeed after the 20th October, if Du Guesclin did not leave Paris till that day; Martin, V. 283.

[3] Walsingham, 310, 311.

[4] Murimuth, Cont. 224; Walsingham, 326; Chron. Angliae, 135.

[5] H. Nicolas; Milman.

CHAPTER II

Edward III (*continued*)

A.D. 1371, 1372

State of the Church.—Parliament.—Ministerial changes.—The war in Aquitaine.—Continued French successes.—Return of Lancaster.—He assumes the style of Castile.—Defeat of the Earl of Pembroke.—Fall of La Rochelle.—Practical loss of Poitou.

As the tide of success was stayed, and affairs were evidently going backward, the war became less and less popular. Public discontent naturally turned against the Ministers, and as the Ministers were ecclesiastics, their unpopularity gave the signal for an attack on the clergy. "The religious condition of England at this moment was full of difficult questions." In the days of Robert Grosseteste and St. Edmund Rich the Church had worked with the laity, not only for common liberty, but also for common resistance to Papal encroachments. The fourteenth century archbishops viewed matters no longer from the national point of view, but from that of Rome; while the laity regarded the Avignon Pontiffs as the mere creatures of the successive kings of France. Meanwhile all the old evils flourished. The bishops clung to privileges "the abuse of which they could not prevent"; pluralities were as rife as ever, leaving the people to the care of "hirelings", uneducated men, unfit for their calling. The thinning of the ranks of the clergy by the successive Plagues, as we have seen, was met by a lowering of the standards of pay and qualification among the officiating clergy. The Mendicant Orders, from being the spiritual life of the Church, had become its opprobrium; the ecclesiastical courts, impotent to punish clerks guilty of criminal offences, still refused to allow them to be tried by laymen. So it came to pass, that, in the prevalence of anti-clerical feeling, Wycliffe's sermons, as attacks on the clergy, were applauded by many who had little sym-

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pathy with either his moral or his reforming views.[1] From another point of view the laity, rising in education and habits of business, were beginning to grumble at the monopoly of office enjoyed by bishops and clergy.

Parliament.

On the 24th February 1371 a session of Parliament was opened at Westminster. The proceedings were opened in the King's presence by William of Wykeham, the Chancellor. He asked for a grant for the defence of the King's possessions at home and abroad: he informed the assembly that the King was assured that his 'adversary' was growing so strong that the loss of all the foreign dominions was imminent, and that an attack upon England itself might be expected. The lay Estates answered by an address representing the 'mischiefs' that arose from the conduct of the government by ecclesiastics, whom it was impossible to bring to account; and praying, that, for the future, none but laymen should be appointed to the higher offices of state, such as those of Chancellor, Treasurer, or Baron of the Exchequer.[2]

The deliberations between the Lords and the Commons lasted more than a month; it would seem that the Earl of Pembroke took a prominent part in the attack on the clergy.[3] He was the spokesman of "the Court party, and may possibly have been supported indirectly by John of Gaunt." Of the turn that the debates took we get an inkling from Wycliffe, who, under the parable of an owl stripped of false plumage, represents a noble lord 'more skilful than the others', advocating nothing less than a general confiscation of church property for the purposes of the war.[4] The King was loth to remove his ministers, but

[1] "A curious tissue of Lollard influences at Court appears during the rest of the reign in opposition to constitutional reform." See Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 438, 439. For Wycliffe's strictures on the preaching of the day, see Lorimer, I. 286; for his views on the office and duties of the clergy see his English works, *passim* (F. D. Matthew, Early English Text Society, 1880).

[2] Rot. Parlt. II. 303, 304.

[3] See Murimuth, Cont. 212, and Walsingham, I. 314; where the misfortunes that befell Pembroke next year are treated as judgements on him for his attacks on the clergy in a certain Parliament—the session of 1371 being the only one that he ever attended.

[4] "De Dominio Civili." See Fasc. Ziz., &c., *XXII* and 3 (W. W. Shirley, Rolls Series, No. 5), Bp. Stubbs, sup. 441.

had to give way. On the 14th March William of Wykeham resigned the Great Seal, which two days later was delivered to Robert Thorpe, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, "the favourite foundation of the House of Pembroke." On the 27th March Thomas Brantingham, Bishop of Exeter, quitted the Treasury, to make room for Richard, Lord Scrope of Bolton, "the faithful and lifelong friend of John of Gaunt."[1] In return Parliament agreed to a grant of £50,000, to be raised by an average contribution of 22*s.* 3*d.* from each parish, it being calculated that there were 40,000 parishes in England. A short statute of three sections was also passed, one section of which forbade the clergy to take tithes of timber trees; while another again renewed the prohibition against the imposition of taxes on wool without the consent of Parliament.[2] But the amount of outstanding business was such that it was found necessary to arrange for an adjourned session to be held after Easter. This assembly met at Winchester on the 8th June. Only half the representatives of the late Parliament and a few Peers were summoned. The new lay ministers had to make confession of a piece of extraordinary ignorance on their part. It appeared from the official returns of the bishops that the number of parishes in all England, excluding the county of Chester, was only 8,600; and that the average assessment therefore must be raised to 116*s.* per parish.[3] Even then all the church lands acquired since 1292, i.e. since the taxation of Nicholas, would have to be laid under contribution.[4] The change was at once allowed and the mistake set right.

The Roll of the Parliament is defective, and it is only from the records of the session of the following year, and

[1] Foed. III. 911, 912; Foss, Judges; Bp. Stubbs, sup. 442.

[2] 45 Edw. III; Statutes I. 393. The remaining sections dealt with the navigation of rivers and the preservation of salmon.

[3] Rot. Parlt. II. 304; Stow, Transcript, 268, 269; Bp. Stubbs, 443. So in 1086 it was supposed that there were 60,000 knights' fees in England, when there were only 6,000–7,000; Foundations of England, II. 131, 132.

[4] "This charge on lands acquired since 1291 was not a novelty as sometimes imagined." See Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 416, 443, note.

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the Customs' Accounts, that we learn that for the police of the sea, and the defence of the coasts the merchants granted for one year extra duties or "subsidies" of two shillings on the tun of wine, and sixpence on the pound avoirdupois of general merchandise.[1]

The Parliament of 1371 "marks the commencement of those political movements and party combinations which continued throughout the next fifteen years". As for the attack on the official clergy, although the State could not dispense with their services, we find for some time clergy alternating with laity. "Now a lawyer, now a bishop, now a knight held the Great Seal or the Treasurer's Staff."[2]

During the sitting of this Parliament another fruitless embassy of peace appeared from Avignon. An early act of the pontificate of Gregory XI was the confirmation of an appointment already made by Urban of two Cardinals, the one an Englishman, the other a Frenchman, to mediate between England and France. The Englishman was the ex-archbishop, Simon Langham. No better man could have been chosen, had the circumstances admitted of mediation; as it was the mission was foredoomed to fail.[3]

On the day before the Lenten session rose writs had been issued for the summoning of Convocation.[4] On the 24th April the Southern clergy met at St. Paul's, and a demand for another £50,000 was preferred by the royal commissioners. The clergy demurring, the Prince of Wales was dragged from his retirement to work upon their feelings. On the 2nd May the clergy were brought face to face with him in the parlour at the Savoy, and were induced to promise to agree to the grant, if the Northern Province and the exempt and privileged clergy would join in the contribution. In the month

[1] Rot. Parlt. II. 310; Customs Accounts, 1371–2.

[2] G. M. Trevelyan, Age of Wycliffe, 4, 111.

[3] The legates were named 29 November 1370, Wilkins, Concilia, III. 88; confirmed 9 March 1371; Barnes, 821; cf. Foed. III. 929 and Murimuth, Cont. 210. The French Cardinal was Jean de Dormans, Chancellor of France, Grandes Chroniques, VI. 331. Simon Langham quite made friends with the King, and doffed his hood to him, an offence at Avignon; Eulog. Hist. III. 337; Angl. Sacr. I. 794; Hook, IV. 217.

[4] Foed. 912.

of July the York clergy gave in their consent, the quota laid upon them being one-fifth.[1]

In Aquitaine the hand-to-hand struggle never ceased. The condition of the province must have been deplorable. 'The strong trampled on the weak, neither right, nor law, nor reason was rendered to any man. The cities and castles were all interlaced—some English, some French; and they rode, and ransomed, and pillaged each other without sparing.'[2] The recorded operations were trivial and uninteresting, the chaotic distribution of forces making concerted action very difficult. Early in the year a party of 'French' Bretons from Périgueux seized Montpon on the river Isle (*Dordogne*). Lancaster summoned his native vassals and marched to the rescue. After some weeks' siege the place fell.[3] John then dismissed his followers, and returned to Bordeaux, to make love to the Infanta Costanza, eldest surviving daughter of Pedro the Cruel, while the Earl of Cambridge laid himself at the feet of her sister Isabel.[4] Not another effort to retrieve the sinking cause in Poitou is claimed on Gaunt's behalf, though the English at Thouars and Poitiers were being harassed by raiding parties from Moncontour, Châtellerault, La Roche-Posay, and Saint-Savin.[5] Meanwhile Du Guesclin and the Duke of Bourbon had led an army into Auvergne to lay siege to Usson (*Puy-de-Dôme*), a place held by the English outside their proper dominion. The resistance proving stubborn, the Constable moved on into Rovergue, where he recovered Millau and other places; returning finally to Usson he induced the garrison to march out on very honourable terms.'[6] Another loss to the English was that of the lord of Pons (*Charente-Inférieure*), his wife however, and the men in the town, remaining English.[7]

[1] Bp. Stubbs, sup. As under the taxation of 1291 the clerical Tenth, even at the first, only yielded £20,000, the present demand would be equal to two Tenths and a half.

[2] Froissart, I. 629.

[3] February, Petit Thalamus, cited Armitage Smith; Froissart, 626. Lancaster signs at Montpon, 15 January, Register, I. 5; Vic et Vaissete.

[4] Froissart, 633.

[5] Froissart, 628.

[6] Froissart, 631. By the 1st May Du Guesclin had returned to Pontorson in Brittany.

[7] Froissart, 628.

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These defections were not balanced by the storming of Moncontour by Thomas Percy the Seneschal of Poitou. Altogether the current of the year 1371 was against the English. In the general confusion the Free Lances were again raising their heads, John of Gaunt conniving at their depredations, 'because he thought that he might yet need their help'.[1]

By his agreement with his brother the Duke of Lancaster was not bound to stay in Aquitaine after the 24th June (1371). His ambitious views were expanding, and he did not care to be hampered any longer by responsibility for the affairs of Aquitaine. On the 31st July he surrendered his powers and office to the Captal de Buch and Thomas Felton, the Seneschal of Aquitaine, these being his brother's most trusted officers, and the transfer of authority to them having been arranged for by him.[2] Not content with his fine position in England, Lancaster aspired to figure as a European potentate. It was whispered that he had been prepared to put forward a preposterous claim to the County of Provence, then in the hands of the Angevin Queen, Jeanne of Naples. His pretensions were based on the ground, forsooth, that Eleanor of Provence, the wife of Henry III, had disputed the family arrangement by which the County of Provence had been settled on her younger sister Beatrice, married to Charles of Anjou, and that she had bequeathed her rights to her son Edmund 'Crouchback', the founder of the House of Lancaster.[3] Whatever John may have said or done in pursuance of this wild scheme, it came to pass that to his ambitious mind the hand of a Castilian heiress seemed to offer a plain way, not to a mere principality, but to a kingly throne. Pedro the Cruel had settled the crown of Castile and Leon on his daughters by Maria de Padilla, in priority to his sons by other ladies.[4] Beatrix the eldest had retired to a nunnery

[1] Froissart, I. 628, 629.
[2] John of Gaunt, 88, from Delpit.
[3] See John of Gaunt, 89–91, for this pretension. The claim was revived by Henry V in 1414, Lancaster and York, I. 186, note.
[4] Ayala, I. 570; II. 22.

and died; Costanza, the next daughter, was brought from her retirement at Bayonne, and married to the Duke of Lancaster, at Roquefort in the Landes; a little later the Earl of Cambridge took her sister Isabel to wife, and then all four went home to England.[1]

Charles V was more ready with his pen than with his sword, but even his diplomatic efforts were not attended by any remarkable degree of success. On the 22nd February (1371) David II of Scotland died, "childless and unrespected." The ill-starred Stewart dynasty was then installed in the person of Robert II, the grandson of the Bruce.[2] Charles immediately opened negotiations with the new King;[3] but Robert, with a good sense not to be found in all his successors, was careful to make his alliance with France subject to the existing truce with England.[4]

Charles also continued his efforts to detach the Flemings from their English alliance. A new treaty between England and Flanders had been sealed in August 1370. Free trading intercourse had been established between the two countries, the Flemings undertaking not to carry enemies' goods, or contraband of war in their bottoms.[5] As his instrument for acting on the Flemings Charles employed his brother, the Duke of Burgundy, the son-in-law and heir presumptive of Count Louis II. The Duchess of Burgundy having given birth to a son and heir, Jean (28th May 1371),[6] Philip took the infant to present him to his grandfather. This move did not pass unnoticed in England On the 1st July Edward instructed envoys to complain of

[1] Froissart, I. 633; Walsingham, I. 313; John signs at La Rochelle, 25 September; at Plympton, 12 November; and at the Savoy, 26 November, Register.

[2] Fordun, &c. Robert II was the son of Walter Stewart, by Margery Bruce, daughter of Robert I.

[3] See a proposal for a treaty dated Vincennes, 30 June, by which Charles offered to pay the Scottish ransom, and get the truce with England cancelled by the Pope, Martene, Thesaurus, I. 1478.

[4] 28 October; Foed. III. 925; Acts Parlt. Scotland, I. 559; cf. Exchcq. Rolls, Scotland, II. 363. The instalment of 'ransom' due to England on the 24th June was duly paid; Id. 355; Foed. 919.

[5] 4 August 1370, Foed. III. 898, ratified by Count Louis, 27 April 1371; Id. 913.

[6] Grandes Chroniques, VI. 332.

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outrages committed by Flemings on English shipping; in August all Flemish subjects in England were ordered to be arrested.[1] With this jar we may fairly connect the capture by Guy, Lord Brian, the Admiral of the Western fleet, of five-and-twenty Flemish ships laden with salt, in the Bay, i.e. the great Bay of Bourgneuf in the extreme South of Brittany.[2] But the Flemings could not afford to quarrel with England. In February 1372 negotiations for an arrangement were opened, Cardinal Langham being named as mediator. Matters were speedily adjusted, and in March peace was proclaimed and the treaty of 1370 renewed.[3]

"Bay" Salt.

Again in Brittany Charles was bidding against Edward. The Bretons were becoming more and more national in their sympathies; the Breton Free Lances were among the best and bravest of Charles's soldiers; the wealth of pay and plunder brought home by these adventurers made the French service very popular in Armorica. But the Duke had no wish to see his subjects 'turn French'. He knew that in the council chambers of the King of France he was held a mere usurper; and Charles kept reminding him of the fact by his efforts to obtain the canonization of Charles of Blois, the antagonist of the house of Montfort. The result was to throw the Duke more completely into Edward's hands than ever. In November (1371) Edward sealed instructions for a new treaty of alliance with Brittany, offering to make over certain castles in Poitou, on condition of being given the control of the Breton harbours during the war.[4] The Duke, however, demanded the Earldom of Richmond, as formerly held by his predecessors, with the March of Poitou (i.e. the Bay salt works), 21 February 1372. Edward agreed; John of Gaunt surrendered Richmond to his father,

[1] Foed. III. 920, 921.

[2] Froissart, I. 631; Murimuth, Cont. 211 (given under 1372); Eulog. Hist. III. 336. H. Nicolas, Royal Navy, II. 137, points out that the term "Bay" salt must be derived from the salt works of this locality; cf. Eulog. sup. and Foed. 739. Edward had kept this corner of Brittany in his hands ever since the death of Duke John III, Nicolas, sup.; Foed. 190, 642.

[3] Foed. 932, 938. Brian was relieved of his command on the 6th October 1371, Id. 923.

[4] See Sismondi, XI. 153, citing Lobineau, I. 398, &c.; Foed. 926.

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who made it over to Brittany. In the course of 1372 the treaty was settled and ratified.[1]

Death of Walter Manny.

The year opened with a noticeable death. On the 15th January Walter Lord Manny (*Gautier de Masny*) died in London. Among all his faithful followers Edward III probably never had a more able or trustworthy servant. Manny's feats of arms have been repeatedly noticed; his public spirit was shown by the purchase of the burying ground at Smithfield, during the Great Plague, and by the subsequent establishment on the same site of the convent of the Charterhouse.[2] No foreigner ever won the hearts of the English more thoroughly than Walter. By Margaret, Countess of Norfolk, daughter of Thomas of Brotherton, he left an only daughter, Anne, married to the Earl of Pembroke.[3]

John of Gaunt had not ventured to assume the style of King of Castile without consulting the King. In March 1372 the leave was given, the King thus fully implicating himself in the folly of his son. In February the Duke simply signs as 'John son of the King'; on the 3rd March he signs as 'John by the grace of God'.[4] The immediate consequence was that the alliance between France and Henry of Trastamare became a reality, and that the actual King of Castile came forward to take an active part in the war, of which, as yet, he had been but a passive spectator.[5]

The Earl of Pembroke.

Lancaster's return having left Aquitaine without a head, the Earl of Pembroke was appointed King's Lieutenant (20th April).[6] About the 10th June he sailed from South-

[1] 21 February–20 July; Foed. III. 935, 943, 948, 953, 956; and again, 8 August and 2 November; Id. 958, 964. The treaty was offensive and defensive; but the Duke eventually took no obligation on himself beyond that of allowing English troops to land in Brittany. After the death of the Lady Mary, John married another English lady, Joan Holland, daughter of the Princess of Wales by her first husband; Lobineau, sup.

[2] Baker, 99, 271; Issue Roll, 44 Edw. III, p. 387 (Devon).

[3] Barnes, 827; Froissart, I. 635. Walter was buried at the Charterhouse. Edward III and all the Court attended the funeral.

[4] Lancaster Archives; Register, I. 27, 28.

[5] A treaty between France and Henry had been sealed, 20 November, 1368, Foed. 850.

[6] Foed. 941: for shipping ordered, see 933, 938.

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ampton with some thirty-six ships, a moderate complement of soldiers, and a large sum of money. Guichard d'Angle had assured the King that with money he could command the services of as many Gascon lances as he wished.[1] On the 22nd June Pembroke arrived off La Rochelle, and there he found a Spanish armament under Ambrosio Bocanegra, the Admiral of Castile, waiting to receive him. Bocanegra had thirteen 'barges' and forty large ships, 'well found and turreted as ships of Spain are'.[2] The English ships were fewer in number and smaller in size, the English shipbuilders of the time being distinctly behind those of Spain or Italy. The Spanish fighting men were well armed with cross-bows and cannon; they had fire-ships; and large store of heavy missiles, of stone, and iron and lead, wherewith to ply their adversaries at close quarters.[3] An action ensued at once, and the English by dint of hard fighting managed to get off with the loss of two provision 'barges'. During the night John Harpenden, the Seneschal of Rochelle, strove to induce the townspeople to turn out, for the relief of the English; but the Rochellois, who were utterly disaffected, protested that they were not seamen, and that they had enough to do to guard their city by land. Four barges were all the succour that Harpenden could bring. Next morning at high-water the Spaniards renewed the engagement. The wind was in their favour, and they were able to surround the English, so as to bring their superior weight to bear. A 'perilous and felon fight' ensued, but the English were utterly overpowered; Pembroke at one time had four Spaniards aboard of him; by midday all was over, and the whole English force taken or destroyed; not a ship or a man escaped.[4] With this defeat—the greatest

Defeated and captured.

[1] Froissart, I. 636; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 335; Ayala, II. 31; H. Nicolas, Royal Navy, II. 141. No Englishmen of any importance accompanied Pembroke.

[2] "Bien pourvues et breteschées ainsi que nefs d'Espaigne sont." Froissart, 636, 637. Ayala, sup., gives the Spanish fleet as 12 'galleys', but they must have had more ships than that.

[3] Froissart, sup. The fire-ships are mentioned by the Chroniques de Du Guesclin.

[4] Froissart, 338, 339; Murimuth, Cont. 212; Grandes Chroniques; Ayala and H. Nicolas, sup.

probably ever sustained by the English navy—ended the military and political career of the Earl of Pembroke.[1] He was carried off to Spain, remained in bonds for three years, and then died at Arras, on his way home to be set free. He had been assigned to Du Guesclin as equivalent to 100,000 gold francs on a settlement of accounts between King Henry and the Breton.[2]

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Pembroke's defeat gave a great impulse to the French cause in Aquitaine. The Duke of Berri and Du Guesclin had raised an army in the Bourbonnais and Auvergne for an attack on Poitou. As soon as the news of the Earl's defeat was reported, the Constable pressed forwards, and in a few days made himself master of Montmorillon, Chauvigny, and Lussac.[3] Marching past Poitiers he then attacked Moncontour, thirty miles to the North of that city, and in six more days took it. He then turned eastwards to assist the Duke of Berri, who was laying siege to Saint-Sévère,[4] a troublesome outpost in Berri held by the English. The appearance of Du Guesclin under the walls of Poitiers, and the fall of Moncontour, created great alarm among the English. Men were hastily summoned from La Rochelle and elsewhere. When Du Guesclin was reported to have gone off to Saint-Sévère the Captal de Buch and Thomas Percy went after him, with all the men they could muster. Du Guesclin heard of their coming, and, by a vigorous assault, secured Saint-Sévère before the garrison had heard of the approaching succour.[5] Poitiers, like other places, had been stripped of its garrison for the relief of Saint-Sévère. The French party there rose, and seized part of the city. Both sides appealed for help to their friends at Saint-Sévère. Du Guesclin had the farthest to go, but he was the first to arrive, and so Poitiers fell to the French.[6] The heart-

Further English Losses.

[1] For the exultation of the Church party, see Murimuth, Cont., and Walsingham.

[2] Walsingham, I. 319.

[3] Vienne, all three.

[4] Indre, about ten miles due South of La Châtre ; Froissart, I. 642, 643.

[5] Froissart, 644, 645, and other authorities cited by Sismondi, XI. 170.

[6] Froissart, 145, 146 ; Sismondi, 171 ; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 335 ; 7 August, Lavisse, IV. 239.

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burnings and recriminations to which this last reverse gave rise broke up the English camp. Unable to agree upon a leader, or a plan, the three nationalities went off, each their own way, namely the Poitevins to Thouars, the English to Niort, and the Gascons to Saint-Jean-d'Angély.[1]

But by this time the Spanish Admirals, having deposited their prizes and captives at home, had returned to lay siege to La Rochelle. They were joined by a French squadron, commanded, strange to say, by an enterprising Welshman, one Owen ap Thomas, who claimed descent from the House of Jorwerth.[2] This man had gained the confidence of King Charles, and was avenging the old wrongs of his race and people by his activity in waging war against England. In 1370 a landing in Wales under his lead had been planned, while in June of the present year he had overrun Guernsey.[3] To return to Rochelle, the people were altogether French in sentiment, but they were held down by an English garrison. Owen, seeing that the reduction of the place might prove a lengthy business, to utilize the time, went off to assist in an attack on the castle of Soubize, at the mouth of the Charente, and he had the good fortune to score an important success. The Captal and Percy were on their way to relieve Soubize; apprised of their coming, Owen arranged his plans so skilfully that he fell on them by night, just after their coming, and captured them both. The gallant Lady of Soubize, who held the castle, then had to come to terms, and turn French (August).[4] Saint-Jean-d'Angély, Angoulême, Taillebourg, Saintes, and Pons followed suit (September); the English occupants retiring to Bordeaux. Lastly, after a formal capitulation, and a bargain carefully negotiated on both sides, La Rochelle opened its gates to Du Guesclin.[5]

A Welsh 'Prince'.

[1] Deux-Sèvres and Charente-Inf.

[2] Owen claimed to be grandson of Rodri or Roderick, youngest brother of Llewelyn and David. See Tout, Pol. Hist. III. 414, citing Y Cymmrodor, 1399, p. 1.

[3] Tout, sup.

[4] Froissart, I. 647–649. The Captal died in Paris, in the Temple. Charles refused to ransom him, because he had once broken his parole; so Ayala.

[5] Grandes Chroniques, VI. 336; the capitulation was signed on the 6th September, and the French entered on the next day.

But the English losses did not stop there. Du Guesclin stuck to his work like a man of business, and soon cleared the March of La Rochelle by driving the English from Marans, Surgières and Fontenay-le-Comte.[1] Thouars, Niort and some eight or nine lesser forts, however, were still held by the English in Poitou.[2] After a very brief pause Du Guesclin marched against Thouars, leaving Niort in his rear. The reason of this move, perhaps, was that Thouars was held by Poitevins; Niort by English and Gascons. The Poitevins at Thouars soon came to the conclusion that the English cause was lost, and that the requirements of loyalty and honour would be fully satisfied by a convention, agreeing for surrender, failing relief by a given day. On the 29th September the capitulation was sealed, the 11th November being fixed as the term for succour. Martinmas came and went, but no succour appeared. Thouars turned French, and there ended the disastrous campaign of 1372.[3]

[1] Vendée; Froissart, I. 655.

[2] Sismondi, XI. 177.

[3] Grandes Chroniques, VI. 336; see also Froissart, 656, 657, where he gives Michaelmas as the term fixed, too early a day for all that had happened since the fall of Rochelle. For the terms offered by Charles to towns that surrendered see Sismondi, XI. 170, and Vic et Vaissete, *passim*.

CHAPTER III

EDWARD III (*continued*)

A.D. 1372, 1373

The War.—Abortive Royal Expedition.—Parliament.—French successes in Brittany.—March of John of Gaunt from Calais to Bordeaux.

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EDWARD had been greatly stirred by the report of Pembroke's disaster. Rousing himself from his lethargy he announced that the next succour for Aquitaine would be led by the King in person. In like spirit the Prince of Wales declared that he too would join the expedition; he might die on the voyage, but still he would go.[1] On the 1st July John of Gaunt, 'King of Castile and Leon,' signed an agreement with his father, undertaking to serve in Aquitaine for a year, with 500 men-at-arms and as many archers.[2] In the course of the month the Earls of Warwick, Suffolk, and Kent received safe-conducts for foreign service.[3] Fabulous sums were said to have been spent on the preparations;[4] and, no doubt, great efforts were made to remove difficulties at home and abroad; peace was proclaimed with Flanders; and the new treaty with Brittany concluded,

Fresh Efforts.

[1] Froissart, I. 660.

[2] Delpit, Documents Français, 185.

[3] Foed. III. 957, 958. Warwick was Thomas Beauchamp II, who succeeded his father Thomas I in 1369; Suffolk was William of Ufford II, who succeeded his father William I also in 1369; and Kent was Thomas Holland II, son of Joan, the Princess of Wales, by her first husband, Thomas Holland I, created Earl of Kent in 1360, and succeeded in the same year by his son, Thomas II; Complete Peerage.

[4] £900,000 (!) Walsingham I. 315; Froissart, 657; Chandos II. 324. The actual expenditure for the half-year from Easter to Michaelmas 1372 was £120,353 and that for the following half-year £83,466 14*s.* 5*d.*, a heavy year, but not the heaviest of the reign. Pell Issue Rolls Easter 46 and Mich. 47 Edw. III. More was spent in the following year, and a good deal more had been spent in 1369 and 1370.

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as already mentioned; on the 20th July the Duke was invested with the Earldom of Richmond, John of Gaunt, who previously held Richmond, receiving Tickhill, the High Peak, Knaresborough, Braunspeth, &c., in exchange. Finally the temporalities of sixteen bishoprics, seized on account of some difficulties in connexion with the levy of the Subsidy granted in the previous year, were restored, with apologies for the 'inadvertence'.[1]

As the Prince of Wales was leaving the kingdom, the prospective rights of his son, young Richard of Bordeaux, were recognized by his nomination to the post of Regent, the Regency Seal being entrusted to the new Chancellor, Robert Knyvett, Chief Justice of the King's Bench.[2]

About the 1st September Edward loosed from Sandwich harbour. For five weeks the Royal armament was tossed about the Channel, the sport of the winds and the waves. Even the King's weather had deserted him. Baffled and defeated, in the first week of October he put back into the "Fi' Ports". The Prince of Wales, as if in despair, finally surrendered Aquitaine into his father's hands.[3]

Arrangements had been made for a session of Parliament to be opened by the Regent on the 13th October. The session was now prorogued to the 3rd November, to give time for the attendance of the King and other personages who had joined the expedition.[4] Parliament met on the 3rd November, and the session lasted till the 24th of the month. The King was in want of money, and the Estates admitted the urgency of the case. The wool duties were renewed for two years at the high rates imposed in 1369.[5] A Fifteenth for one year was also granted; the burgesses also, after the departure of the knights, agreed at the Prince's request to allow for another year the duties of 'tunnage and

Parliament.

[1] Foed. III. 943–959.

[2] Foed. 962. Robert Thorpe, the late Chancellor, died 29th June; Knyvett succeeded him on the 5th July; Foed. 951; Foss.

[3] 5 October; Foed. 974; Rot. Parlt. II. 310; Froissart, I. 658; Walsingham, sup.; Lords' Report; Chandos Herald, 326.

[4] See Lords' Report.

[5] 43*s.* 4*d.* on the sack and 120 wool fells, and 80*s.* on the 'last' of leather.

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poundage' voted in the previous year for the protection of the merchant navy. The Statute of the session "betrays somewhat of the same jealousy towards the lawyers as had been shown in 1371 towards the clergy". "*Gentz de ley*," practising lawyers, who sought for seats in Parliament for their own advancement, were declared to be no longer eligible as knights of the shire; sheriffs also being disqualified during their term of office.[1] But although the "*gentz de seinte Eglise*" may have inspired the attack on their rivals, the lawyers remained in possession of the great offices of state until the last year of the reign.[2] The petitions of the Parliament touch upon perambulations of the Forests: ravages of game in the 'purlieus' of the same forests: corruptions of the law-courts: destruction of the merchant navy through prolonged impressment of ships: independence of labourers:[3] laxity of clerical morality: the articles on this last head were struck out—probably as being scandalous—but the Commons distinctly charged the bishops with conniving 'at irregularities, by accepting fixed pecuniary fines in lieu of deprivation'.[4]

The War.

By the month of March 1373, Du Guesclin was again in the field, to gather up the fragments that remained. In the interval he had found time for a dash into Brittany, to encourage resistance to England. We are told that if the Duke was English his subjects were mostly French.[5] In Poitou the place singled out for assault by the Constable was Chizé,[6] and there the English party received its death-blow.

Further Losses.

The garrisons of Niort, Lusignan, and Gençay[7] hastened to the rescue, but their efforts were again paralysed by want of concert. The men of Chizé sallied out too soon, and were overpowered. Du Guesclin then turned round on the succour parties, and overwhelmed them likewise, the

[1] 46 Edw. III; Statutes, I. 394. [2] Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 445.
[3] The wages of agricultural labour were still rising; Rogers, I. 320, &c.
[4] "Les Prelatz pristrent sommes pecuniers de Gentz de Seinte Eglise ... de ce que ils tiendrent overtement lours concubines, &c." See Rot. Parlt. II. 309–315, and especially p. 313, s. 41.
[5] Froissart, I. 661, 669 and note; Lobineau, I. 405.
[6] Dept. Deux-Sèvres; on the river Boutonne. [7] Dept. Vienne.

defection of a party of Bretons from the English side making their discomfiture more easy. Three hundred prisoners remained in the hands of the Constable, among them the Sieurs of Rochechouart and Argenton, 'the last Poitevin lords on the English side' (21st March).[1] Niort, Lusignan, and Mortemer then opened their gates; saving La Roche-sur-Yon[2] and a few minor forts, Poitou was lost to the English. In three years' time France had practically recovered all the Brétigny cessions and more to boot.[3]

Du Guesclin went up to Paris to report his success; but fresh work was waiting for him in Brittany.

Edward had resolved to make the duchy the base of his next operations against France. A certain number of English soldiers, Free Lances and the like, were still established there; the Channel Islands were his,[4] and he had the control of Brest and other places on the mainland. On the 19th December 1372 he had sealed a patent graciously conferring upon the Duke of Brittany all lands, cities, and territories that he might win from the King of France, saving homage to the King of England: on the 8th February 1373 an indenture was sealed by which the Earl of Salisbury undertook to serve in Brittany for six months from the 1st March, with 300 men-at-arms and as many archers.[5] Sailing in due course he landed at Saint-Malo, where he found eight large Spanish ships; the ships were burnt and the crews put to the sword. But the Bretons, who were thoroughly French in feeling, rose against their Duke, and sent for aid to Paris. Duke John found that instead of winning lands in France he might chance to lose his own duchy, and that his very person was no longer safe among his subjects. He retreated from Vannes to Auray; left his Duchess there; and finally took ship for England (28th April).[6]

Affairs in Brittany.

Charles V, "that mysterious man who never took the field himself, nor allowed his armies to fight" if he could

[1] Froissart, I. 662–666; Sismondi, XI. 179.
[2] Now known as Bourbon-Vendée.
[3] Lavisse, IV. 240.
[4] See Foed. III. 990.
[5] Foed. 968, 971; Lobineau, I. 405.
[6] Froissart, 668, 669 and note; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 337; Lobineau, 406; Foed. 981.

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help it; but who, by dint of masterly inactivity, contrived that his enemies should wear themselves out by their own exertions, "now saw, that the time had come for destroying the power of their only remaining friend."[1] He sent Du Guesclin and the Duke of Bourbon into Brittany with a considerable force; Rennes, Dinan and Vannes surrendered at once; Hennebont was frightened into submission by the threats of the Constable. In fact no real resistance was offered, except by English garrisons. 'Woe to these if they fell into the hands of Olivier de Clisson, rightly named "The Butcher"; he gave no quarter to Englishmen.'[2] After a rest of fifteen days at Hennebont the Constable attacked and took Concarneau. Brest, Auray and Derval were then the only holds left to the English.[3]

Knolles, who acted as the Duke's representative, after setting his own castle at Derval in order, had gone on to Brest to make all safe there. Du Guesclin followed him in due course, and opened a siege; but, seeing that the affair would take time, as the Earl of Salisbury had the command of the sea, he established a force to watch the place, while he himself turned southwards to attack Derval; detached parties being sent to operate against Becherel and Saint-Sauveur in Normandy, and La Roche-sur-Yon in Poitou.[4] Cut off from their friends, the English at Derval agreed to surrender in forty days, if not previously relieved in force. Again leaving part of his force to beleaguer Derval, the Constable marched off to Nantes, and was admitted by the townspeople, as 'the commissary of the King of France'; but always on condition that they should be allowed to return to the allegiance of their Duke, if he should come to terms with the King of France.[5] Robert Knolles at Brest became anxious for his friends at Derval, and, to set himself free to succour them, he offered to surrender Brest at the end of a month, if not previously relieved. Du Guesclin

Derval and Brest.

[1] Longman II, 222.
[2] Sismondi, XI. 181; Froissart, I. 670; Lobineau, sup.
[3] Lobineau, I. 407; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 338; Froissart, 671, 673.
[4] Lobineau, sup.; Froissart, 672, &c.
[5] Froissart, 672, 673; Lobineau, sup.

agreed on condition of receiving hostages—a point on which he, as a man of considerable experience in military conventions, laid great stress.[1] The same guarantee had been exacted at Derval. On the 6th July the convention was signed[2] and then Sir Robert slipped out of Brest, and made his way into Derval, a breach of the agreement as Du Guesclin understood it.[3] In fact it would seem that under these conventions active hostilities were usually suspended, both parties observing a tacit truce; but a strict blockade of the place under terms would be maintained. Salisbury, who was at a distance, on hearing of the convention of the 6th July, hastened back to Brest, and having established his men on a convenient battle-field near the shore summoned the Constable to come forward and 'hold his day'. After a good deal of diplomatic fencing Du Guesclin brought his army near enough to be just out of reach of the English position, and then sent a counter-summons requiring them to come forward and do battle, under pain of forfeiting their hostages. The English of course protested, and no action took place. Brest had been relieved; but Du Guesclin carried off his hostages.[4] Knolles now refused to stand by the Derval convention and surrender the place, maintaining that he had relieved it. The French leaders told him that if Derval were not surrendered the English hostages would suffer. Knolles answered that if the English hostages suffered an equal number of French prisoners would suffer too. The French captains, not to be brow-beaten, ordered out the English hostages, two knights and two esquires for immediate execution. They were beheaded under the castle walls. Knolles was as good as his word; a long "meat-board" or hall table was run out of one of the upper windows of the castle; three French knights, and an esquire 'for whom he had refused 10,000 francs', were dragged out one by one and summarily

[1] "Car ils sentoient monseigneur Robert subtil et cauteleux." But it is very doubtful if Du Guesclin was in a position to find fault with Sir Robert's good faith.

[2] Grandes Chroniques, VI. 338; Lobineau.

[3] Froissart, I. 675 and note.

[4] Froissart, 676, 677; cf. Grandes Chroniques and Lobineau, sup.

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beheaded; down they fell, the bodies on one side, and the heads on the other side, into the moat.[1] If Knolles left Brest to succour Derval before the former place had been relieved by Salisbury, as stated by Froissart, he was probably guilty of a breach of the military code of honour. But it must be mentioned, that, according to other authorities, he did not go to Derval till after the siege of Brest had been abandoned, in which case the French would be responsible for the final catastrophe.[2]

The great armament, Edward's last effort to recover that which was lost, was committed, for want of better leadership, to John of Gaunt. The King had resolved to try the effect of another invasion of France, in the hope, perchance, of provoking another Crécy or a second Poitiers. As early as the month of April the passage of the King of Castile had been announced. On the 12th June he was named King's Lieutenant for France and Aquitaine, with all powers.[3] In the course of July he landed at Calais [4] to take the command of an army worthy of England's last effort.[5] The Duke of Brittany came with him; the bulk of the army apparently had preceded him, under the charge of the Earls of Warwick and Suffolk as joint Marshals, Edward le Despenser holding the Constable's Staff. Among the other magnates were Hugh Earl of Stafford,[6] and the Barons Percy, Basset of Drayton, Basset of Sapcote, Burghersh, and de la Pole.[7] Among the professional soldiers appeared Walter Hewet, Matthew Gurney, John Harpenden, and Hugh Calverley. The force had been

[1] Froissart, I. 682.

[2] So Lobineau, I. 407.

[3] Foed. III. 975, 982, 988.

[4] Murimuth, Cont. 213; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 339. John's own contingent was only ordered to muster on the 23rd June; Foed. 987. Warwick had sailed on the 16th June; Excheq. Miscellanea, cited Eulog. III. lv.

[5] Froissart, 673, gives the numbers as 2,000 men-at-arms and 4,000 archers. But in recent expeditions to Aquitaine the archers were little more numerous than the men-at-arms; 4,000 to 5,000 men would be a likely total.

[6] Succeeded his father, Earl Ralph, in 1372; Complete Peerage.

[7] Michael de la Pole, summoned to Parliament as a Baron in January 1366; he was son of William de la Pole, of Hull, financier and Baron of the Exchequer; 'the King's Merchant': see Foss.

swelled by auxiliaries from Germany and the Low Countries, who came, as if forgetful of the treatment allotted to former adventurers; also, by way of a novelty, a body of 300 lances came from Scotland.[1] The French king's chronicler pronounced the army the finest turned out by Edward III.[2] Slow to move, John of Gaunt was still at Calais on the 3rd August,[3] the army having begun its march on the 16th July,[4] and, when he did move, his advance was leisurely, by easy stages, of from two to four leagues a day (6–12 miles ?), and halting early, about *haute noune* (3 p.m.), the three divisions keeping touch with one another. So they went, past Saint-Omer and Aire, on to Hesdin and Saint-Pol, and from thence along the line of Arras and Doullens down to the Somme, at Corbie and Bray. Their foraging probably extended over a belt of country equal to the space between these several towns, the ravaging being only kept within bounds through the necessity of feeding the host, as they carried nothing with them. From Corbie and Bray the English marched in two parallel columns, one led by Lancaster, the other by the Duke of Brittany; the one body crossed over the Somme to Roie, and so on to Vailly-sur-Aisne, while part marched round to the same point by Saint-Quentin, Ribemont, and Laon. On the French side the old tactics were adhered to; the open country and the villages were abandoned to their fate; the fortified towns were "held in silence"; no army was allowed to appear in the field, but the best lances in France, with de Clisson to direct them, hovered on the English flanks, cutting off stragglers.[5] The smartest actions of the whole campaign took place at Ribemont and Oulchy-le-Château[6]: at the former place four score of Calverley's

[1] See Froissart, I. 678, comparing Barnes, 857. David II had passed away in 1371 (Foed. III. 980), so that sending the Scottish auxiliaries would be one of the first acts of Robert II. Edward, in his difficulties, had condescended to recognize him; Id. 981.

[2] Grandes Chroniques, VI, 342.

[3] Delpit, Documents Français, 189.

[4] So Froissart and Barnes, sup.

[5] Froissart, 678–680; Grandes Chroniques, 339–340, where the movements of the two bodies seem to be given.

[6] Aisne, between Soissons and Château-Thierry.

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men were discomfited by six score Frenchmen: at the latter place Walter Hewet was surprised and killed, and some thirty knights and esquires taken prisoners.[1] From the March of Soissons the English passed into Champagne. At Troyes they were met by Papal envoys, the Archbishop of Ravenna, and the Bishop of Carpentras. But John of Gaunt had no authority to treat of peace, and no inclination to grant a truce, so the army held on its way 'pillaging, ransoming, and burning'.[2] From Champagne they moved into Burgundy, crossing the Seine at Gyé, above Bar-sur-Seine.[3] On they swept in orderly array, the French watching them but keeping out of reach, and retiring at night to friendly strongholds; while the English for the most part had to bivouac in the open. So long, however, as the route led through Burgundy, Beaujolais and Forez, the foragers kept the camp pretty well supplied; but when they struck across the Loire and Allier into the barren hills of Auvergne the case was altered, the pinch of want was soon felt, and horses and men died quickly. In Limousin and Périgord they fared little better, the land having been utterly wasted in the previous campaigns.[4] With one-third of their numbers gone, they finally reached Bordeaux, apparently late in December. The last and biggest of Edward's raids had proved the costliest. The petty towns of Martel, Belloc and Demanac (?) were the only conquests claimed, and they were soon lost; while in England it was said that gentle knights might be seen at Bordeaux begging bread from door to door, 'and no man gave unto them'.[5]

[1] Froissart, I. 680–682; Grandes Chroniques, sup. The latter writer gives the date of the skirmish at Oulchy as Friday, 9th September. For the names of the English cf. Barnes, 860.

[2] Froissart, 685.

[3] Grandes Chroniques, sup.

[4] The line of march seems to have passed through Sarlat, Lalinde, and Bergerac, Lobineau, I. 410.

[5] Grandes Chroniques, VI. 340–342; Barnes, 862; Walsingham, I. 315; cf. Froissart, 686. For further details of the march and a map see Armitage Smith, John of Gaunt, 105, &c. In England, on the 4th January 1374, orders were being issued for arresting deserters going home without leave; Delpit, Documents Français, 190.

While preparing for this expedition John of Gaunt had been assiduously cultivating relations with Portugal.[1] If, in the face of what he had seen of the war, he dreamed of marching from the reduction of France to the conquest of Castile, his presumption and folly must indeed have been great.

[1] Foed. III. 980–984.

CHAPTER IV

Edward III (*continued*)

A.D. 1373–1375

Parliament.—Questions with the Papacy.—Continued losses in Gascony and Brittany.—Failure of negotiations for Peace.—*Concordat* with the Papacy.

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Parliament.

At home a Parliament was held at Westminster from the 23rd November to the 10th December.[1] If the results of the expedition had reached the ears of the Government they were not divulged. On the contrary, the operations by sea and land were represented as having been highly creditable to the King and realm; but the Chancellor, Knyvett, admitted that the expenditure had exceeded the proceeds of the grants voted in the last Parliament; the King, therefore, he said, requested the Commons to be ready on the morrow, to give 'counsel and advice'; 'all manner of petitions and other business being suspended'.[2] The tone was unfortunate, and the demand for aid without reference to the petitions was a direct challenge to the Commons. They met it by an appeal to the Lords, asking them to appoint some of their number to confer with them (25 November), "thus showing that whatever might have been the minor jealousies of class or estate in former years, the Commons still trusted the Lords." The Peers immediately named the Bishops of London,[3] Winchester and Bath; the Earls of Arundel,[4] Salisbury and March; Guy Brian, and Henry le Scrope of Masham. The Bishop of Bath, John Harewell,[5] had been the Prince's Chancellor in Aquitaine;

[1] Lords' Report.

[2] Rot. Parlt. II. 316. "Dit que le roy voet et commande as communes," &c. The amount spent from Easter to Michaelmas 1373 was £116,447, the receipts only £109,000.

[3] Simon Tybald of Sudbury, consecrated 20 March 1362.

[4] Richard FitzAlan, son of Edmund beheaded in 1326.

[5] Consecrated 17 March 1367.

Salisbury and Arundel were "intimate friends and companions of the King".[1]

After five days' consultation the Lords and Commons gave in a written consent to a grant of Fifteenths for two years, with a prolongation of the existing duties on wool, wine, and general merchandise for the like period; the grants for the second year being made dependent on the continuance of the war: no member of Parliament to be appointed collector of any of the imposts (29 November).[2] The Commons' petitions "were of the usual sort". Complaint was again made of the detention of ships for periods of three months and upwards before they were taken into the King's service: so of the encroachments of the courts Christian, through suggestions of the novel doctrine of breach of trust (fide-lesion): and so of the persistent aggressions of the Papacy through 'Provisions' and exaction of 'First Fruits'. The answer on this point was that negotiations were actually pending for an adjustment of the relations with the Papacy.[3] But 'First Fruits' and 'Provisions' were not the only Papal exactions of which the clergy at that moment had to complain. A demand for 100,000 florins, as a contribution for the Papal war against the Florentines, had been hanging over their heads for some time.[4] The amount was about equal to two Tenths, but the King wanted a Tenth for himself; and as usual the royal demands took precedence. In November writs had been issued for Convocations.[5] The clergy showed a disposition to resist. It is said that Archbishop Whittlesey dragged himself from his sick-room to preach at St. Paul's on the immunities of his Order.

[1] Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 446.

[2] Rot. Parlt., sup.

[3] Rot. Parlt. II. 318–320. A short statute was passed touching the measurements of cloth, and the Scots currency, which was only to be taken at a reduction of one-fourth of its value; 47 Edw. III; Statutes, I. 395. For the embassy to Avignon, see Wilkins, III. 94; Hook, IV. 240.

[4] The demand had been made as far back as July 1372; Milman, V. 564. In March 1373 Gregory wrote to William of Wykeham on the subject, offering to accept 60,000 florins for the time, if the rest should be paid at the end of the war; Hook, IV. 254; citing Walcot, "Wykeham, and his Colleagues," 46. 100,000 florins would be equal to £33,333 6*s.* 8*d.*

[5] Foed. III. 993.

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Exhausted with the effort he fell back into the arms of his chaplain; and had to be carried back by water to Lambeth.[1] The management of the business of Convocation then devolved upon the Bishop of London and William Courtenay, Bishop of Hereford;[2] and through their influence a Tenth was voted in each Province.[3]

Funds for the prosecution of the war were thus to a certain extent provided. But the Government were once more beginning to show some sort of inclination to think of peace. When Convocation rose the Bishop of London was at last allowed to go to Bruges, a place appointed by Gregory early in the previous year for the meeting of a peace conference.[4] But no interim truce was granted, and the Bishop was soon recalled,[5] probably to meet a Papal embassy headed by Cardinal Langham, that had been deputed to discuss all questions at issue with England.[6] Taking up the gauntlet, Edward addressed a circular to the bishops and sheriffs, calling for returns of all church preferment held by foreigners.[7] The returns were said to have filled several sheets of paper;[8] yet Gregory subsequently declared that except in the case of one man, a Roman settled in England, he had conferred no English preferment on any foreigners, except Cardinals, for whom, by recognized custom, preferment was always found in foreign countries.[9]

But the burning question of the hour was that of Gregory's

[1] Parker, Antiqq., 380; Wilkins, Conc. III. 97; Hook, IV. 238.

[2] Consecrated 17 March 1370.

[3] 1 December 1373, and 6 February 1374; Wake, 303; Wilkins.

[4] See his letter of the 3rd January 1373; Barnes, 861, from Raynaldi. The Bishop had been appointed to meet the Cardinals, 8 January 1373 (Foed. III. 969), but only received his journey money 23 December; Devon, Issues, 195.

[5] He was apparently back 6 March 1374; Foed. 999.

[6] Eulog. Cont. III. 336. Langham was sharply taken to task at Avignon on his return for having doffed his hood to the King; he explained that he had only half-doffed it.

[7] March 6, 11; Foed. III. 999, 1000.

[8] Barnes, 865.

[9] Foed. 1072. In 1376 one of the petitions of the Good Parliament specifies the deaneries of York, Salisbury and Lincoln; the archdeaconries of Canterbury, Durham, Suffolk and York; three prebends and two parish churches, as held by Cardinals and other foreigners; Rot. Parlt. II. 339. One of the Cardinals, however, was Simon Langham.

tallage for the Florentine war. To consider his demand a Grand Council of prelates and barons was held at Westminster after Whitsunday (21 May). The Prince of Wales and the Archbishop of Canterbury presided; to the right and left of them were ranged the prelates and barons, all in due order. On a form or bench[1] in front of them sat four Doctors of Divinity, chosen disputants, namely the Provincial of the Dominicans, John Mardesley a Franciscan, Thomas Ashburne an Augustinian friar, and John Uhtred a Durham monk;[2] canonists and lawyers squatted on rugs on the floor.[3] Knyvett, the Chancellor, opened the proceedings, explaining that they were met to consider the Papal demand for a tallage from the clergy, and that Gregory based his claim to exact a tallage on the double ground of being Christ's Vicar on earth, and also over-lord of England, by virtue of King John's grant. He invited the clergy to consider the one point, and the barons to consider the other point. Whittlesey and the prelates, of course, could not possibly deny that Christ was Lord of all.[4] The Dominican declined to take up so high a matter, unless, either the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, or the Mass of the Holy Ghost, were first sung, in accordance with the custom of his Order. Uhtred defended the Papal claim on the strength of Becket's favourite text of the two swords, the spiritual and the temporal, "*Ecce duo gladii.*"[5] Mardesley answered him with the counter-text, "*Mitte gladium tuum in vaginam*" (Put up thy sword again),[6] arguing at length that Christ neither arrogated to himself, nor bequeathed to his disciples, any temporal authority whatever. Ashburne followed on the same side, likening the Prince with his sword to St. Paul, as contrasted with St. Peter with his keys. Whittlesey sneered at the friars, and hinted that their presence might well have been dispensed with. "*Bona consilia (concilia?) fuerunt in Anglia sine Fratribus.*" 'For

Grand Council.

[1] "In una forma."
[2] Uhtred had been on the embassy to Avignon; Foed. III. 1007.
[3] "Decretistae et legistae super tapetia in area sedebant."
[4] "Ipse est omnium dominus, non possumus hoc negare."
[5] Luke xxii. 38.
[6] Matt. xxvi. 52 (Vulgate).

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thy folly were they summoned,'[1] retorted the Prince angrily. 'If we had listened to thee the kingdom would have been lost.' The discussion lasted over a second day; the Archbishop, a man in a dying condition, was again asked for his opinion, but declined to give any, until roughly ordered by the Prince to do so. 'Answer, donkey!'[2] Whittlesey got out of the difficulty by saying that he had no wish that the Pope should be lord of England, 'he was quite willing that the Pope should not be such.'[3] The other prelates accepted this formula. The validity of John's charter was then submitted to the Barons, and rejected with scorn, envoys being named to report to the Pope the rejection of his claims.[4]

But the clergy were not out of it yet. Whittlesey died a few days after the Council.[5] The usual struggle between the Chapter and the King ensued, the monks re-electing the ex-Primate Cardinal Langham, in opposition to Pope, King, and *Curia*.[6] Langham, when in England in 1372 and 1373, had canvassed for re-election.[7] The matter was settled at the end of a year by the translation of the Bishop of London, Simon Tybald or Theobald of Sudbury, who, as the price of his promotion, ordered the clergy to give the Pope half a Tenth, as we shall see.[8] In connexion with the Primacy we may notice that the Northern Province had also been vacant for some time. On the 6th November 1373 John Thoresby or Thursby closed his long and distinguished episcopate. On the 4th June 1374 Alexander Neville was consecrated as his successor.[9]

The Pope's summons to the peace congress at Bruges could now be attended to. On the 26th July Edward named his commissioners. John Gilbert, Bishop of Bangor, was at the head of the list, the second name being that of

[1] "Propter tuam fatuitatem oportuit nos convocare illos," &c.
[2] "Asine! responde."
[3] "Placet mihi quod non sit hic dominus."
[4] See Eulog. Cont. III. 336–339.
[5] 6 June; Reg. Sacr.
[6] Walsingham, I. 317; Murimuth, Cont. 215.
[7] Eulog. Cont. 336, 337.
[8] September 1375; Wilkins, III. 101, 103.
[9] Reg. Sacr.; T. Stubbs, Decem Script. c. 1732, &c.

John Wycliffe, Doctor of Divinity.[1] Within a few days the mission took its departure,[2] and was detained at Bruges a full year.

Since the year 1366, when we first saw Wycliffe come forward as a champion of lay rights and state rights, as against sacerdotalism and papalism, he had moved steadily forward in his career as a reformer, but as "a reformer rather of the constitution than the doctrines of the church". His studies now were directed to 'theology', in his acceptation of the term; but "the theological element was closely united with the political, and his literary, was subordinate to his practical influence".[3] To this period belongs Wycliffe's remarkable attempt at a reform of the Church through the institution of his itinerant preachers, his "pore prestis" or "simple prestis". Their homely zeal; "their long russet dress down to the heels,[4] moved the laughter or the wrath of their contemporaries; but such as they were they were employed, under episcopal sanction, through what was then the immense diocese of Lincoln, and, probably in others also."[5]

John Wycliffe.

The hollow negotiations dragging their slow length along,

Affairs in Gascony.

[1] Foed. III. 1002, 1007.

[2] On the 31st July the Bishop received £133 6s. 8d. for his expenses; Wycliffe, £60, &c.; Devon, Issues, 197.

[3] Shirley, Fasc. Ziz. xi. The writer divides Wycliffe's life into three periods; the first down to 1366, when he was chiefly known as a writer on logic, physics, and philosophy; the second down to the Great Schism (1378); and the third to the close of his life (1384). To the last period belong his work on the translation of the Bible, and Wycliffe's more especial 'heresies'. But his teaching on the subject of the Incarnation had long been questioned, and "his doctrine of the imperishability of matter had been actually condemned by Archbishop Langham"; Id. xxvii. Wycliffe had just been presented to the living of Lutterworth (7 April, Pat. Roll, 48 Edw.). For his development as a thinker see Lechler's "Wiclif" and Lorimer's translation of the same, vol. II, and below.

[4] Murimuth, Cont. 222. In their attire they seem to have copied their founder; so at least Leland, Coll. cited by Shirley, "Wiclif studuit in Collegio Cantuar. (Canterbury Hall, the germ of Christ Church, Oxford) et indutus russeta veste longa, nudis pedibus incedebat.'

[5] Shirley, sup. xl. He compares Wycliffe's Itinerants to "the lay preachers of John Wesley, such as they were while his strong hand was upon them". Their primary 'point' was to preach the "lawe of God" and regard for "Holy Writt more than newe statutis customes and serymonyes maad of synful men"; English Works (Matthew), 276; see also 244. At the present day people might compare them to the emissaries of the Salvation Army.

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the war continued its course throughout the year 1374, all to the advantage of the French. To please the Gascon lords, who wished to see the question of the over-lordship of Gascony settled one way or another, the Duke of Anjou and John of Gaunt agreed upon an armed meeting, to be held at the confluence of the Tarn and Garonne, between Montauban and Moissac, on Easter Monday (3 April 1374). The 'day' it was hoped might eventuate in a final peace with or without a battle.[1] Neither side, however, cared to abide the 'day', and negotiations were opened for a fresh appointment.[2] These *pourparlers* resulted in the conclusion of a short truce to Whitsunday (21 May), under cover of which the Duke of Lancaster sailed home[3] to meet the black looks of his father and elder brother.[4]

John's retirement from the field left Gascony at the mercy of the French. In the course of June, the truce having expired, Du Guesclin entered Bigorre, and wrested Mauvezin, Saint-Sever, and Lourdes from English hands. A fresh challenge was then issued to the English for a meeting on the 15th August, the Count of Foix promising to give in his adherence to the King of France, if the English did not show substantial reasons to the contrary. The French kept their 'day': but Thomas Felton, the Seneschal of Aquitaine,[5] had nothing but excuses to offer for the non-appearance of a sufficient force on his side.[6] The Count at once gave in his homage to Charles V, and the French troops pressed forward. On the 27th August La Réole signed a capitulation.[7] Langon, Saint-Macaire, Sainte-Bazeille and other towns submitted likewise. By the end of

[1] Foed. III. 1000; Froissart, I. 688; Murimuth, Cont. 213; Vic et Vaissete, IV. 582, 583.

[2] Foed. sup.

[3] April; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 342, 343; Murimuth, Cont. 213; cf. Froissart, I. 689. Lancaster signs at Hertford 10 May 1374; Register, I. 234.

[4] "Et disait l'en que son père et le Prince de Galles son frère ne lui avoient pas fait bonne chiere pour ce que il avoit si petitement exploitié," &c. Grandes Chroniques, sup.

[5] See Foed. 1000.

[6] Murimuth, Cont. 214. Froissart alleges that the truce extended to the 31st August (I. 690), but his narrative here is particularly incorrect, as shown by Vic and Vaissete.

[7] Vic et Vaissete, 583; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 343.

September the English dominion was pretty well cut down to Bayonne and Bordeaux;[1] while in the North the territory of the vassal Duke of Brittany was still further curtailed by the loss of Becherel, which surrendered to the French on the 1st November.[2]

Considering his previous want of success it seems strange that John of Gaunt should have induced the Government to entrust him with one more military command. A regular armament was out of the question. But he was allowed to enlist men to serve under his personal flag, the Earls of Cambridge and March, and Edward le Despenser being allowed to accompany him with contingents of their own, also Guichard d'Angle, as military adviser. Safe-conducts were made out for a motley total of some 700 men of all sorts.[3] It would seem that the King ordered the force once more to embark for Aquitaine, but that again the winds frustrated his purpose.[4] Edward then at last resigned himself to the idea of a truce. On the 11th February 1375 an armistice was signed at Bourbourg on the Flemish frontier. Papal envoys mediated, but the suspension of hostilities, in the first instance, was only allowed to cover Artois, Picardy and Boulogne; with a duration to Easter (22 April).[5] A week later (20 February) John of Gaunt, the Bishop of London, and the Earl of Salisbury were authorized to discuss the terms of a peace or truce, with

[1] So Murimuth, Cont. 215. See also Froissart, I. 690, and Vic et Vaissete, IV. 356, 584, and the documents there cited. Cognac remained, but it was taken next year, Grandes Chroniques.

[2] Froissart, 695.

[3] See these, dated 23 August 1374—19 January 1375; Foed. III. 1009–1118. Clergymen and merchants appear as well as knights and archers.

[4] See a letter from Edward to the "Dominus de Lebeto" (? Lebreto) in Martene's Ampliss. Collectio I. Col. 1474, dated 1 December. The letter states that John reported his failure to the King on the 25th November. The year 1374 seems the only one to which these facts can apply. Lancaster was in Aquitaine in November 1370, 1371, 1373; he signs at the Savoy in November and December 1372; and was again there 18 November 1374, after an apparent absence of two months; Register, I. 209, 210, 244, 248. In July 1374 shipping was ordered for an expedition in September: the shipping for the Breton expedition of 1375 was not ordered till November; Foed. According to Delpit, Documents Français, 193, Lancaster was at the Savoy on the 13th November 1374.

[5] Foed. III. 1021, 1022.

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full powers to settle all questions. On the French side the Duke of Burgundy was appointed to confer with them, and it was agreed that the conferences should begin at Bruges on the 11th March.[1] Great expectations were formed in England of the results of the negotiations; it was fondly believed that the eloquence and diplomatic skill of the Duke of Lancaster would secure a triumphant peace.[2] The full execution of the Brétigny terms, or something not far short of that, was still supposed to be possible; and it would seem that the envoys were actually forbidden to accept of anything less.

Charles V laid their demands before a Grand Council in Paris, and obtained the fullest authority for refusing any cessions in absolute sovereignty—the point on which the English insisted—but, subject to that reservation, he was again prepared to make liberal concessions in land and money.[3] Peace being impossible, the efforts of the negotiators were then directed towards the adjustment of the terms of a more lengthy truce. On the 26th May articles were drawn up, which, with some modifications, were eventually signed on the 27th June. The truce was appointed to last till the 30th June 1376; the English to evacuate Brittany, saving strongholds actually in their hands. Special stipulations were made with respect to Saint-Sauveur in the Cotentin, which had been besieged since the previous autumn, and was under terms to surrender on the 2nd July, if not previously relieved. It was agreed that on payment of 40,000 "francs" by the French to the English, the fort should be placed in the hands of the Papal envoys, to be made over to the French at the expiration of the truce, under certain conditions.[4]

But Peace impossible.

This truce again proved a snare to the English. The Duke of Brittany and his allies had sailed about the month of March; they had been directed to relieve Saint-Sauveur;

[1] Foed. III. 1024, 1027, 1031. [2] Walsingham, I. 318.

[3] See Grandes Chroniques, VI. 344, 347; Froissart, I. 704; comparing Eulog. Hist. III. 336 (given as under 1372). "Le roi d'Angleterre demandoit choses impossibles pour lui," &c; Froissart.

[4] See the documents, Foed. 1031–1035.

but the winds proved contrary, and they sailed on to Brittany. Landing at Saint-Mahé they recovered the place—also Saint-Pol and Saint-Briec; they then shut up Olivier de Clisson in Quimperlé.[1] They were exulting in the prospect of wreaking their vengeance on 'the Butcher', when the truce was notified to them; bowing to its stipulations they raised the siege. Du Guesclin was less scrupulous; he swore that not a man of the garrison of Saint-Sauveur should be saved alive if the place were not delivered to him, and as he held hostages Saint-Sauveur had to be given up.[2]

The results of the negotiations with the Papacy carried on concurrently at Bruges, were not less disappointing than those of the negotiations with France. The grand new Concordat, the outcome of nearly two years' discussions, was published on the 1st September, in the shape of six Bulls issued by the Pope. Gregory XI made some small concessions, which involved no surrender of principle, and, in fact, strengthened his position, by "virtually reasserting the larger claim". As a special favour, he confirmed certain appointments made by the King, cancelling certain counter-appointments made by himself, or by Urban V. He waived his right to present to certain benefices, alleged to have been 'reserved' to the *Curia*; and remitted First Fruits in certain cases.[3] Not a stipulation for the future was allowed to appear upon paper; but the Pope condescended so far as to intimate verbally that he would be moderate in his 'reservations'; and that in the matter of cathedral elections he would never 'provide' a bishop until sufficient

[1] Froissart, I. 696–703; Lobineau, I. 411, 412; Murimuth, Cont. 217. Froissart gives an interesting ballad of the time on the depredations of John Devereux, who had established himself in a petty stronghold near Quimperlé, called Le Nouveau Fort; 698.

[2] Froissart, 696–703; Murimuth, Cont. 217; Lobineau, 411, 412. Thomas Katrington, who had the command at Saint-Sauveur, was impeached by John Annesley, who was married to one of John Chandos's nieces. A battle wager was allowed, on the ground that the events had happened outside the jurisdiction. The combat was fought out at Westminster on the 7th June 1380 in the presence of the young King Richard II. Katrington, a stout, heavy man, was worsted, and died of exhaustion next day; Foed. IV. 80; Walsingham, I. 430.

[3] Foed. III. 1037.

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time had elapsed for the wishes of the King and Chapter to be made known to him.[1] In England it was reported that Gregory had undertaken to abstain from interfering with English patronage, if the King would abstain from conferring benefices by writ of "*Quare impedit*"—a compact which must have seemed a mockery and a delusion even to those who believed in its existence.[2] The claim of the clergy to have the entire right of nominating bishops was doubtless more than any government could have conceded to them; but the mortification of Churchmen at the disappointment of their hopes was not the less great; mortification, however, must have given place to downright indignation, when they learned, that, to secure the appearance of having won a concession from the Court of Rome, John of Gaunt had given in to the Papal tallage to the extent of half a Tenth.[3]

Whatever the feelings of the English people, the high contracting parties were satisfied, and accordingly the leading agents had to receive their reward. Simon of Sudbury was translated to the Primacy, vacant by the death of Whittlesey, as already mentioned;[4] William Courtenay, the Bishop of Hereford, was translated to London; and John Gilbert of Bangor was translated to Hereford.[5] Wycliffe was named to the prebend of Aust, in the collegiate church of Westbury; but he must have declined the plurality, as a few days later the prebend was conferred upon another man.[6]

The Primacy.

[1] See these articles as published by the King in February 1377; Foed. III. 1072.

[2] Walsingham, I. 317. The verbal promises of the Pope as published by the King appear to me to negative any such compact. "By the writ of Quare impedit the King was accustomed, on the ground of wardships, or of his right to the patronage of vacant churches, to usurp a good deal of patronage;" Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 447 note.

[3] See Wilkins, III. 102, 103.

[4] 4 May 1375, Reg. Sacr. Simon was born at Sudbury, of respectable parents. After studying at home he took the degree of Doctor of Canon Law in Paris, and throughout his life was distinguished for his legal attainments. He was patronized by Innocent VI, who made him Auditor of the Rota and Papal Chaplain (cf. Foed. III. 328). In 1362 he was made Bishop of London. According to Dr. Hook his French connexions and a certain brusqueness of manner made him unpopular in England; Archbishops, IV. 244.

[5] Murimuth, Cont. 216; Bp. Stubbs, Reg. Sacr.

[6] Lewis, 44; Shirley, Fasc. Ziz. xxxiv.

CHAPTER V

Edward III (*continued*)

A.D. 1376

The Good Parliament.—Death of the Prince of Wales.

The pitiful results of the Bruges conferences completed the unpopularity of John of Gaunt, who now stood before the world as a conspicuous failure, in peace as well as war. With the Lancaster heritage he had not taken up the traditional Lancaster policy.[1] He cared little for either clergy or commons; he neglected the successive wives to whom he owed everything;[2] "consequently his reputation was even worse than he deserved."[3] The King also had greatly lowered himself in public estimation by his relations with Alice Perrers, otherwise Lady Windsor, who ruled the failing monarch, and interfered in the most unblushing manner with public affairs. She was accused of invading the Courts of Justice to overawe the judges, when cases in which she felt interested were pending.[4] In 1374 all London had been scandalized by seeing her led to a tournament at Smithfield as the Lady of the Sun.[5]

John of Gaunt.

Alice Perrers.

[1] "Cujus facta suo nomini semper exstitere contraria;" Chron. Angl. 73. The association of the name of Lancaster with liberal politics in the public mind was still strong.

[2] Id. 75. The Duke's apologist pleads for excuse for "a *liaison* that lasted nearly thirty years"; John of Gaunt, 139. Katherine Swynford, no doubt, was a woman of superior manners and attainments, and capable of filling a good position in society.

[3] Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 437, 448.

[4] Chron. Angl. 95, 96; Walsingham, I. 320.

[5] So Barnes, citing Stow, Survey of London, I. 717. Alice had passed as a single woman, but now it turned out that she was married to William Windsor (Chron. Angl. 97), a North-country Baron (Foed. III. 831) and Free Lance. He had been appointed King's Lieutenant of Ireland in 1368 (Id. 854); repeated complaints had been made of his maladministration, but notwithstanding he had been kept on (Id. 924, 942, 977, 999). Clearly he had powerful interest at his back. For a payment to him made through Alice, see Devon, Issues, 797.

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No Parliament had been held since 1373; such an omission, at a time when supplies were known to be greatly needed, could not but increase popular misgivings.[1] The feeling for the war had only been kept alive by a series of brilliant victories; when success gave place to failure and disgrace, popular indignation could not fail to be great. At last on the 28th December the writs for the celebrated Good Parliament were issued.[2] The 12th February 1376 was the day originally fixed for the meeting of the session; but the day was altered to the 28th April, perhaps to give time for the return of the Duke of Lancaster, who had been sent back to Bruges, to arrange for an extension of the truce; and, in fact, an extension had been granted to the 1st April 1377.[3]

On the appointed day the session was opened by the King in person, but the attendance being thin, as frequently happened, the proceedings were adjourned to the morrow, to meet "*al viij^me heure del clok*". On the 29th April, the King being again present, Knyvett, the Chancellor, in the opening speech declared the reasons for the meeting of Parliament to be three, namely, the maintenance of the peace of the realm; defence against foreign invasion; and the prosecution of the war, the whole amounting to a mere demand for a subsidy. With his old want of tact he ended with a summary exhortation to the Houses to be "diligent" in their business. Receivers and Triers of Petitions were appointed, as usual, the 'King of Castile' being at the head of the latter—and then the Commons withdrew from the Painted Chamber to the Chapter House, their usual place of meeting.[4]

[1] Bp. Stubbs suggests that the omission in 1375 may have been due to the unhealthiness of the year, the year of the Fourth Plague. Prayers for its cessation were ordered 15 July, Wilkins, III. 100. The year was also one of dearth, "the last of a remarkable series of fourteen dear years;" Rogers, Prices, I. 214; Foed. III. 1047.

[2] Lords' Report. "Parliamentum . . . quod Bonum merito vocabatur"; Walsingham, I. 324.

[3] 12 March; Foed. 1039, 1040; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 346. The French agreed to pay another 40,000 francs for Saint-Sauveur; Foed. 1051, 1052, 1059.

[4] Rot. Parlt. II. 321, 322.

Their first step was to request the appointment of a committee of lords to confer with them, as had been done in 1373. It was felt that a strong arm would be needed to bring the King to any the smallest measure of amendment or reform.[1] It was said that in the first instance they had addressed themselves to the bishops, but, eventually, an equal number of bishops, earls and barons were named. The bishops were William Courtenay of London, Henry le Despenser of Norwich,[2] Adam Houghton of St. Davids,[3] and Thomas Appleby of Carlisle;[4] the earls were March, Warwick, Stafford, and Suffolk; and the barons Henry Percy, Guy, Lord Brian of Walwyn's Castle, Pembrokeshire, an old official and diplomat, Henry, Lord Scrope of Masham, and Richard, Lord Stafford of Clifton Camville, uncle to the Earl of Stafford, and at one time Seneschal of Gascony.[5] All the latter were men of standing and experience. Bishop Courtenay and the Earl of March "were more or less constitutional politicians". Percy might be supposed to inherit the sturdy politics of the old Northern Barons.[6] "Adam Houghton may have leaned to the side of the Duke of Lancaster, who afterwards made him chancellor; Warwick, as may be inferred from later history, was a mere self-seeking politician."[7] But the strength of the Commons lay in the support of the Prince of Wales, who was understood to be dissatisfied with the state of affairs, and prepared to back up an attack on the "Court party";[8] that is to say, not an attack on the King's recognized Ministers—the Chancellor, Treasurer, and Keeper of the Privy Seal—but on his minions, and his mistress, perhaps in alliance with the Duke of Lancaster, the King himself

[1] So Chron. Angl. 69, a contemporary St. Alban's Chronicle (Rolls Series, No. 64, Sir E. M. Thompson).

[2] Consecrated 21 April 1370.

[3] Consecrated 2 January 1362.

[4] Consecrated 18 June 1363.

[5] Complete Peerage.

[6] Chron. Angl. 81. He changed sides afterwards.

[7] Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 449. Warwick was supposed to be on the popular side. In July his men were allowed to ravage the lands of Evesham Abbey; this outrage was turned against the popular party; Murimuth, Cont. 220.

[8] Murimuth, Cont. 220; "Communes per dominum Principem Angliae . . . ut dicebatur, erant secretius animati;" Chron. Angl. 73 and App. 393.

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being the man ultimately aimed at. The Parliament Rolls are destitute of chronology, they give no dates, and the final acts of the session are entered as the first. The exact sequence of events, therefore, cannot be given, but it appears that the Commons began by electing Peter de la Mare, member for Herefordshire and Steward to the Earl of March, as "Forespeaker".[1] Addressing the Lords assembled under the Duke of Lancaster,[2] in the doleful strains habitual to mediaeval Parliamentarians, when approaching the question of supply, Peter, after protesting that the Commons were as loyally disposed, and ready to give as any of their predecessors, proceeded to dwell upon the long series of tallages and subsidies exacted during the reign, the Fifteenths, Tenths, and Ninths; the vast sums received from extraordinary sources, such as the ransoms of the Kings of France and Scotland, and those of the Duke of Burgundy, and the Poitiers prisoners. He asked what had become of all this money. Surely if it had been properly expended the King would have been rich enough without asking for anything further from his subjects; some persons must be to blame; the people insisted on having the guilty parties brought to justice. John of Gaunt, much taken aback, adjourned the proceedings.[3]

The First 'Speaker.

The Commons had grounds enough of complaint. But the suggestion that the subsidies had not been expended upon the war was most unfounded; the real grievance was that the national resources had been wasted on a hopeless enterprise. But the leaders of the Commons, or the persons by whom their action was directed, knew better than to call for any general examination of public accounts. What they wanted was to bring to light specific cases of illegality and malversation in the conduct of affairs, and to punish the wrong-doers. Two men specially singled out for attack were Richard Lyons of London, a merchant,

[1] "Prolocutor," Chron. Angl. 72; Walsingham, I. 321; "Vantparlour," Rot. Parlt. III. 100; A.S. "Forespeca." The modern "Speaker" is evidently a clipped word, and should be written 'Speaker, like the old 'Postle and 'Pistle.

[2] "En Parlement," Rot. Parlt.; "Coram proceribus," Chron. Angl.

[3] Rot. Parlt. II. 322; Chron. Angl. 73, 74; Murimuth, Cont. 219.

farmer of Customs, and financial agent; and William, Lord Latimer, the King's Chamberlain, and Keeper of his "Chamber" or Privy Purse. Lyons had sold to merchants exemptions from the regulations of the Calais Staple, charging eleven shillings the sack for the exemption, a duty not sanctioned by Parliament, and not accounted for to the Treasury; he had levied 4*d.* on the £1 on the export of bullion, and kept the money for himself; he had been concerned in an unwarrantable loan of 20,000 marks negotiated for the King, who had been bound down to repay 30,000 marks, Lyons having advanced part of the money, and sharing in the profits of the usurious transaction. Further he was charged with having taken heavy commissions from Crown creditors, to assist them in getting settlement of their claims. With respect to the loan his answer was that he had no share in it; the illegal taxes had been levied under the King's Seal, and paid into his Chamber. On other points he threw himself on the King's mercy. But noble lords came forward to say that the King had told them that he did not know the man, whereupon Lyons was condemned to utter forfeiture and imprisonment at the King's pleasure.[1] It was reported that Lyons had sent money to the Prince, who refused it; and to the King, who took it, with the jocular remark that it was all his, why not take it?[2]

Illegal licences.

The charges against Latimer were multifarious; having been Captain of Becherel and other places in Brittany, he, or his subordinates, had levied protection money and victuals, after the proclamation of the truce, to the value of 145,000 'francs'; he had been concerned with Lyons in the unconscionable loan of 20,000 marks, having found some of the money, or even taken it out of the King's own Chamber; he had advised the King to grant the illegal licences for shipping wool and the like.[3] Latimer, protesting his rights as a peer, challenged any man to come forward

[1] Rot. Parlt. II. 323, 324. Lyons was in the Tower, 2 July; Foed. III. 1056, but afterwards obtained a pardon through Alice Perrers; Rot. Parlt. III. 12, 13.

[2] Chron. Angl. 79.

[3] Rot. Parlt. II. 324, 325.

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and accuse him. But no man came forward, the Commons in their collective capacity insisting on their right to impeach him. Forced to answer with respect to the contributions levied after notice of the truce, he said that the proclamation of the truce had only been certified by an inquest held by Bretons, King's enemies, whose word was not to be trusted; all the money that he had received in Brittany, including the ransoms of his Auray prisoners, did not exceed £10,000; to raise that money would take all that he was worth. Responsibility for the acts of his subordinates he endeavoured to reject, but the Commons would not admit that plea. With respect to the 20,000 marks, he had contributed nothing to the loan, and the transaction was in itself lawful and necessary. But on this point he was contradicted by Richard Scrope of Bolton, ex-Treasurer, and William Walworth, late Mayor of London, who testified that the merchants of the Calais Staple had made an offer to the King, through Latimer, of £10,000 free of interest if he would cease issuing the illegal licences. Again Latimer denied everything, but he was declared guilty and ordered into arrest. At the Commons' request the King deprived him of all his offices; but, of course, he was immediately bailed out by a number of noble lords (26 May).[1]

Custom-House Extortion.

William Elys (or Ellice), collector of Customs under Lyons at Yarmouth, was charged with having exacted from the master of a Scottish ship, driven into harbour by stress of weather, £34, being the total amount of duties leviable on his cargo, though he had not broken bulk, and had only been driven into harbour by foul winds. Elys admitted the fact, but pleaded that, under orders from headquarters, he had refunded the money, and obtained an acquittance from one Fauxhide, claiming to be general attorney for all Scottish merchants. But Fauxhide's authority to act as such was questioned, and on another charge, of a precisely similar character, and complications arising out of it, Elys was condemned to prison, till he should make fine and satisfaction at the King's pleasure.

[1] Rot. Parlt. II. 324–327.

Private Monopoly.

John Peechee (Peachey) of London was charged with having obtained through Lyons, by a patent under the Great Seal, a monopoly of the sale of sweet wines in London, under which he levied a private duty of 3*s.* 4*d.* on the pipe for himself, besides 10*s.* for the King, neither tax having received Parliamentary sanction. Peechee pleaded that the 3*s.* 4*d.* was a very moderate charge, paid willingly by the retailers, as he might have asked twice as much. Both allegations were scouted by the Mayor and aldermen, so he too was condemned. At the same time the ordinance forbidding the sale of sweet wines in London on which the monopoly was based was ordered to be rescinded.[1]

Commissions and Discounts.

John, Lord Neville of Raby, was charged with having taken up the claims of Crown creditors at a discount, and then obtained full payment for himself. He had thus bought 'tallies of assignment' from the late Lady of Ravensworth, and from Reginald Love. With respect to the first case the answer was that the Lady owed him money, on a business transaction; that she gave him tallies for £200 in payment; and that by the help of friends at Court he had, with difficulty, obtained a settlement, but that for that he had to pay 'something like £95—but quite freely—and without any covenant'. Love's case was one of wool, bought from Neville to the amount of £600; Love, wishing for further time for payment, had given Neville tallies 'containing' £450, as the term was, on account. So far the transaction seemed unobjectionable; but Michael, Lord de la Pole, and William Wingfield, a knight, came forward to prove that Love had told them that under the arrangement the wool would cost him two marks a sack more than it would otherwise have done. A third charge preferred against Neville was that of having produced an insufficient number of men, when under contract to serve in Brittany in 1372;[2] and also of having indulged his men with gross licence when waiting at Southampton for shipping. The first part of this accusation was disproved; the

[1] Rot. Parlt. II. 323, 328.

[2] Foed. III. 953.

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second part Neville hardly affected to deny.[1] The Commons considered all three charges proved, and begged that he should be dismissed from all his offices.[2]

Alice Perrers.

Encouraged by success the Commons then attacked the King's mistress, Alice Perrers, the most unpopular person in the kingdom, forbidding her or any other woman to interfere in legal proceedings. They also procured against her a further decree of forfeiture and banishment.[3] Edward affected to be greatly shocked when informed that she was a married woman, protesting that if he had been aware of the fact he would never have had anything to do with her; of course she was not dismissed.

So far the Commons had been content with bringing to light the corruption and jobbery prevalent at Court, for which the King's laxity was clearly responsible, but without pressing for any remedial measures, or any fresh constitutional guarantees. At this point the situation underwent a sudden change through the death of the Prince of Wales. He had been residing, not at his usual London house, which was on Fish Street Hill,[4] but at Kennington.[5] On the 7th June finding his strength failing he made his Will, appointing 'his brother of Spain', William of Wykeham and John Harewell, the Bishop of Bath, his chief executors, bequeathing divers legacies, and giving minute directions for his burial at Canterbury.[6] He commended his son to the care of his father, and charged them both to confirm his Will. John Gilbert, Bishop of Bangor, remained with him to the last, and obtained from him a dying confession, with a declaration of forgiveness to all men, and a prayer for the like for himself in return.[7] Next day, being Trinity Sunday,

[1] The men having received a quarter's pay in advance were kept waiting three weeks after the quarter had expired.

[2] Rot. Parlt. II. 328, 329. He was ordered to account to the executors of Lady Ravensworth and Reginald Love. According to the Chron. Angl. 81, he was fined 8,000 marks.

[3] Chron. Angl. 99, 100; Rot. Parlt. 329.

[4] Stow, Survey, I. 499.

[5] Chron. Angl. lxx and 124.

[6] Barnes, 883; Ashmole, Garter, 676; Royal Wills, 75.

[7] The Prince wished to satisfy the Bishop with a mere general assent to his formula, "Bene, volo", without repeating the prescribed words, till Gilbert

(8 June) 'about the third hour of the day', Edward of Woodstock breathed his last, aged 46 years less 7 days. He was a rough, brave, able soldier, a mediaeval dragoon, one who could, when he chose, be courteous and considerate to those of his own caste, but nothing more. Towards the Church and clergy his habitual tone, as we have seen, was one of undisguised contempt. The necessity of opposing his brother John gained for him in his last hours the strange credit of having supported a popular movement.[1] Manly in all things, he bore his long illness with silent fortitude. Besides Richard of Bordeaux the Prince left two natural sons, John Sounder and Roger of Clarendon.[2] The remains were embalmed and kept in London till Michaelmas, and then they were borne in state to Canterbury.[3]

John of Gaunt now took the initiative, boldly asking Parliament to take up the question of the Succession, as if there could be any doubt about it. The mere mooting of such a point could not but excite grave suspicion. It was suggested that the Duke hoped that the Estates might be induced to pass a *Salique* Law for England, or, possibly, that his motion was meant as a delicate way of raising the question of the legitimacy of the Heir-Apparent, a point not free from doubt in some men's minds, as the Princess's original husband, the Earl of Salisbury, was still living.[4] But the Commons would not listen to the Duke's proposals, and asked that young Richard of Bordeaux might be

exorcised the evil spirit by sprinkling holy water on the four corners of the room, then the Prince spoke out; Chron. Angl. 88–92; cf. Chandos Herald, 326, &c.

[1] See the language of Murimuth, Cont. 220, and Chron. Angl. 74, the two primary authorities of the time; also the Appendix to the latter, 393.

[2] Barnes, 884, citing Ashmole, 676, and Richard Baker, Chronicle (1684), 143. Sounder served in Portugal 1381–1382, with the Earl of Cambridge; Froissart, II. 179. Clarendon was made a Knight of his Chamber by Richard II, but was attainted by Henry IV. "He is thought to be the ancestor of a family of Smiths in the county of Essex;" Sandford, Gen. Hist. 189.

[3] Sandford, 187; R. Baker, sup.

[4] The writer of the Grandes Chroniques—not a friendly critic, of course—wonders that the English could accept young Richard; VI. 348. The *Salique* Law would be aimed at Philippa of Clarence, married to Edmund Earl of March, and next in succession to the throne after young Richard.

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brought before them that they might be assured of his health and safety.[1]

The Commons then produced the scheme of reform to which their other proceedings had been leading up. Following the precedents of 1258 and 1310 they demanded the appointment of a standing committee of lords to 'enforce' the ordinary Council: no great business to be undertaken without the advice of all; four to be competent to deal with minor matters, and the same number to be always in attendance on the King. If he would give his assent to this arrangement they were prepared to renew the subsidy on wool, that would expire at Michaelmas, apologizing at the same time for not giving more. Edward gave his assent, on condition that the Chancellor, Treasurer and Privy Seal should not be interfered with in the discharge of the duties appertaining to their offices, an insidious reservation that nullified the acceptance of an advisory committee, as we saw under Edward II, when, with the Great Seal in his hands, the King remained master of the situation. The Commons however evinced no misgivings; the wool subsidy was voted, and the Parliament, "the longest probably that had ever yet sat," was brought to an end (Eltham 6 July).[2] The Advisory Lords were then named and sworn in, to the number of nine, namely the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Bishops of London and Winchester; the Earls of Arundel, Stafford and March; and the Lords Percy, Brian and Beauchamp of Bletso.[3] The name of the Duke of Lancaster is conspicuous by its absence.

The attempt to effect a reform of the administration was doomed to speedy failure. But the work of the Good Parliament must not for all that be undervalued. In the first place it gave a timely impulse to the constitutional spirit of the country; a new edition of "Piers Plowman"

[1] Chron. Angl. 92; Rot. Parlt. II. 330. Richard was produced 25 June.

[2] Chron. Angl. 100, 101; Rot. Parlt. 322, 360, where the order of the proceedings is inverted, as already mentioned; the right order is to be found in the Chron. Angl.

[3] Chron. Angl. lxviii.

appeared shortly,[1] brimful of political utterances not found in the original text. In the next place it marks "a new period in our parliamentary history; a new stage in the character of the national opposition to the misrule of the Crown. Hitherto the task of resistance had devolved on the baronage." From this point the Commons began to take the work into their own hands.[2]

But the impeachment of offenders and the appointment of a new Council were only a small part of the business done. The petitions of various kinds delivered and answered, during the nine weeks of the session numbered 146.[3] All the old grounds of complaint are recapitulated—Purveyance; Forest grievances; forced cartage; oppressions of the sheriffs; interference by royal writs with the course of justice; extensions of the jurisdictions of the Steward and Marshal; ex parte "inquests of office";[4] deodands of ships;[5] Papal aggression; 'corruptions of the sinful city of Avignon';[6] sturdiness of beggars and "staff strikers"; 'malice' of servants and labourers; destruction of "kipper" salmon. Some of the complaints are very unreasonable—as that the petitioners were not allowed to use the locks on the river Thames without payment. Of a like character are the protests against the competition of foreign brokers and merchants; and the claims to exclusive privileges advanced by chartered gilds. Other petitions indicate the decay of the old local courts and franchises, and the development of the new institution of Justices of the Peace.[7] Still more interesting is the renewed demand for annual Parliaments, and the election of the knights of the shire by the better folk of the shires, and not merely by

[1] That styled the B text by Mr. Skeat. See his Introduction; the fable of the rats and the cat is clearly pointed at Lancaster.

[2] J. R. Green, I. 465.

[3] Rot. Parlt. II. 331–360.

[4] These were inquests held by the royal escheators upon the deaths of tenants in capite, &c. The deceased was often 'found' to have died seized of lands to which he was not entitled, and so the rightful owners were dispossessed; cf. Rot. Parlt. III. 94.

[5] If a man fell off a ship in harbour and was drowned or killed the vessel was seized as a deodand to the King. See Rot. Parlt. III. 94.

[6] "La pecherouse cite de Avenon," p. 337.

[7] Nos. 16 and 33.

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nomination by the sheriffs, without election. The answer was that the knights should be elected by common assent of the whole county; the annual Parliaments were already provided for by law.[1]

A survey of the petitions leads to the conclusion that the charge to be brought against Edward's government was rather one of maladministration than of any deliberate purpose of creating a despotism. Edward paid little regard to the constitution, but if he was not actuated by any "strong repressive policy", neither on the other hand did he exercise any check on dishonesty and extortion among his servants.[2] Laxity and want of moral purpose confront us at every turn.

[1] No. 128.

[2] Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 453–455, *q.v.* for further details of the petitions also Longman, II. 257, &c.

CHAPTER VI

Edward III (*continued*)

A. D. 1376, 1377

John of Gaunt, Prime Minister.—Reversal of the Acts of the Good Parliament.—Reactionary proceedings.—Parliament.—Convocation.—Wycliffe cited by the Bishops.—Grants of poll-taxes by clergy and laity.—Death of the King.—His personal appearance and character.

John of Gaunt was probably not responsible for the maladministration of which the Good Parliament complained. There is really nothing to connect him with the King's petty jobbery. From July 1369, or at any rate from July 1373 to the meeting of the Parliament, most of his time had been spent abroad.[1] Nor in the proceedings of the Parliament does anything aimed at the Duke appear. Yet he proceeded to treat their acts as if they had all been specifically directed against himself. Taking the reins of government into his own hands, he boldly proclaimed that the late Parliament was no Parliament, cancelling all its acts, dismissing the Advisory Lords, and recalling to court and office the men impeached by the Commons.[2] Making common cause with his father's mistress, he recalled Alice, who had been sworn on the Cross of Canterbury to retire from Court; the archbishop and bishops had pledged themselves to excommunicate her if she should return, but now, bowing to the storm, they held their peace 'dumb dogs'.[3] Not one of the petitions of the Parliament was allowed to become a statute. Vindic-

John of Gaunt, Prime Minister.

[1] So Mr. Armitage Smith points out, John of Gaunt, 123. He would discredit the allegations of the Chronicon Angliae on account of the evident animus and obvious exaggerations of the writer. Unfortunately his main charges against the Duke are amply supported by independent evidence. Mr. Trevelyan, in his Age of Wycliffe, takes the action of the Good Parliament as wholly directed against the Duke—a clear mistake, I think.

[2] Chron. Angl. 102, 103.

[3] Id. 103, 104.

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tive measures against the leaders followed, a sudden increase in the King's feebleness having left the Duke's hands altogether free.[1] Peter de la Mare was summoned to court, seized and sent to Nottingham.[2] William of Wykeham was cited before the Privy Council, upon a preposterous charge of malversation during his tenure of office as Chancellor (13 October); his temporalities were taken into hand, and he was forbidden to appear within twenty miles of court.[3] The Earl of March was ordered on foreign service; he took the hint and resigned the office of Marshal[4] which he had held since 1369. The King was persuaded to make his Will, and name Lancaster and Latimer among the executors.[5] To secure the neutrality of the personal adherents of young Richard, his father's title and estates were conferred upon him, his mother receiving a confirmation of her dower and other rights.[6] The vacant temporalities of the see of Winchester were also offered to the new Prince of Wales.[7] Thomas of Woodstock was made Constable,[8] and Henry Percy won over by investiture with the Marshal's staff resigned by March.[9] Robert Hales and Michael de la Pole were appointed Admirals (24 November), vice Suffolk and Salisbury, who had been appointed in July.[10]

Parliament.

Further measures were reserved for a Parliament, which was summoned for the 27th January 1377. For the first

[1] Prayers for the King's health, Northern Registers, 410; 2 October, Chron. Angl. 401.

[2] Chron. Angl. 105.

[3] Chron. Angl. 106; and especially the English Chronicle printed with it, p. lxxiv; also Lowth, Life of Wykeham, 114; the temporalities were apparently seized upon a charge of having remitted £40 of a crown debt, Id. 129; Chron. Angl. lxxviii; Foed. IV. 12; the writ was issued 17 November; the Bishop was ordered to appear again on the 20th January 1377, but no further proceedings were ever taken. According to the English Chronicle above he had taken an active part against Latimer.

[4] Chron. Angl. 108.

[5] 7 October; Foed. III. 1080.

[6] Bp. Stubbs; 20 November, Foed. 1065, 1067.

[7] Chron. Angl. 106. They were actually assigned to the Prince, the value being given as £1,988 14*s.* 6½*d*, besides 19 quarters of oats; 15 March 1377, Foed. 1475.

[8] Foed. 1067. Thomas was affianced or married to Eleanor, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Humphrey Bohun V, the last Earl of Hereford.

[9] Percy is recognized as Marshal in an order of 2 December; Foed. 1066.

[10] Foed. 1057, 1065.

time in our history, apparently, care was taken to pack the Parliament, and with complete success. Of the knights of the shire who had sat in 1376 only eight were returned in 1377.[1] As a further precaution the Ministry was changed on the eve of the meeting. On the 11th January Knyvett delivered the great Seal to Adam Houghton, the Bishop of St. Davids; Henry Wakefield, the Bishop of Worcester, becoming Treasurer at the same time.[2] Two clerical partisans were thus secured. But the Duke's position was "beset with difficulties". For his credit at Court, and the prosecution of the war, on which the Court was still bent, it was essential that he should obtain a liberal grant from Parliament. But he had shocked the sense of the nation by his arbitrary proceedings, and had driven the clergy into active opposition, first by his submission to the Papal claims, and then by his attack on William of Wykeham. As a further ally in this emergency he bethought him of Wycliffe, with whom he had been brought into contact during the conferences at Bruges.[3] No two men could be more dissimilar in their characters and aims than Lancaster and Wycliffe. But the Duke thought that he could find a useful supporter in the Oxford reformer, the popular preacher, the declared enemy of sacerdotal and episcopal pretensions. "Wycliffe, led away by his own sanguine spirit, and looking on Lancaster as the Puritans of Elizabeth's time looked on Leicester, . . . too readily allowed himself to be used by the unscrupulous politician."[4] In Wycliffe's eyes William of Wykeham "with his administrative ability, his political energy, and his wealth" would be a mere embodiment of all the evils that held down and oppressed the church.[5] Thus it came to pass that Wycliffe, whose aim was to purify, joined hands with Lancaster, whose object was to humiliate the Church.[6]

[1] Return of Members of Parliament, part i, 193, cited Tout; cf. Chron. Angl. 112. [2] Foed. III. 1069.

[3] Chron. Angl. 115. On the 22nd September a letter of Privy Seal had been sent to Wycliffe at Oxford, summoning him before the Privy Council; Devon, Issues, 200. [4] Bp. Stubbs, II. 457. [5] J. R. Green, Hist. I. 468.

[6] Shirley, Fasc. Ziz. xxvi. For an epitome of Wycliffe's charges against prelates see his English works, 53.

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A Second Jubilee.

On the appointed day (27 January 1377) Parliament was opened by the young Prince of Wales, who was treated with elaborate deference by John of Gaunt. On the morrow business began. The fiftieth year of the King's reign had just been held as a second Jubilee; the Chancellor, alluding gracefully to the fact, congratulated the Estates on having such a King, whom God had specially favoured in raising him up from a bed of sickness, in the fiftieth year of his reign; he earnestly begged them to show themselves members worthy of such a head, now a 'vessel of grace', and purified from all taint of sin—if indeed there ever had been any sin.[1] The point of the discourse was the urgent need of money to meet the war that the French were preparing to renew, under cover of the truce. (In fact they were anxious for peace, and making the most liberal offers for it.) Robert Ashton the Chamberlain followed, to add an assurance, that, as he pointed out, lay not in the mouth of a prelate, namely, that the King was determined to withstand the 'usurpations' of the See of Rome on the Royal prerogative. Papers on the subject were promised.[2]

The Commons then retired to the Chapter House, and elected as their Forespeaker[3] Thomas Hungerford, Chief Steward on some of the Lancaster estates;[4] a committee of twelve peers, mostly of the Duke's party, was appointed to confer with them, and then the question of the Subsidy was taken up. Four alternatives were suggested by the Ministers. The Commons might offer (*a*) a double Subsidy of two Fifteenths and Tenths; (*b*) an *alcavala* of 1*s.* on the £1 on all sales of goods effected during a year; (*c*) a scutage of £1 on the Knight's fee; (*d*) a *fouage* or hearth-tax of fourpence. Of these imposts the second and fourth were absolutely new to England, though not unknown in Gascony. The reader will note the financial ignorance that could apparently set a scutage that might yield

[1] "Purifiez de toute ordure de pechiez," &c.

[2] Rot. Parlt. II. 361–363.

[3] "Qi avoit les paroles pur les communes;" Rot. Parlt. 374.

[4] Chron. Angl. 112; Thomas "was successively Chief Steward North and South of Trent"; John of Gaunt, 145.

£7,000 or £8,000 in the balance against a double subsidy that could not well yield less than £70,000. Of course proposals so novel, and so varied in their incidence, could not but lead to protracted discussions. The Commons, as usual, began by discussing grievances; a strong minority demanded the release of Peter de la Mare, but the Lancastrian majority rejected the proposal.[1]

Convocation.

Concurrently with the Parliament the clergy had been summoned in Convocation to consider the question of their grant (3 February); and they too were ready with their grievances. Where was the Bishop of Winchester? Why was he not present? Archbishop Sudbury explained that he had been banished from court by the King; but Courtenay, the Bishop of London, a man of high spirit and connexions,[2] told the clergy to stand on their rights, and refuse to give anything till the Bishop was allowed to appear. The King, when appealed to, gave a certain consent, and William of Wykeham, with a more modest retinue than usual, took his seat in Convocation (February 14–18).[3] Not content with having scored this success, Courtenay proceeded to attack the Duke through his new ally, Wycliffe. It is open to conjecture that Wycliffe may have attended the Parliaments of 1376 and 1377;[4] anyhow a certain political connexion between him and the Duke must have become notorious. He was ordered to appear before a committee of bishops at St. Paul's on the 19th February, to answer charges of heretical teaching. The 'heresies' imputed were social and political rather than theological;[5] Wycliffe, as yet, had

[1] Chron. Angl. 111–113.

[2] Son of Hugh Courtenay II, Earl of Devon, and great-grandson of Edward I.

[3] Chron. Angl. 114, lxxxi; Lowth, William of Wykeham, 138; Wake, 304.

[4] See Lorimer, I. 240, 245.

[5] See the nineteen Propositions or Conclusions subsequently condemned by Gregory XI; Walsingham, I. 353; Fasc. Ziz. 245, comparing the accounts of the present proceedings in Murimuth, Cont. 222, and Chron. Angl. 215, in which several of the nineteen are clearly referred to; see also Walsingham, 324, 325. For still earlier teaching by Wycliffe, purely homiletic, but severe on the spiritual authority claimed by popes and bishops, see the Ecclesiae Regimen (Forshal, London, 1851), and the thirty-seven Conclusions, printed by H. F. B. Compston, Eng. Hist. Rev. XXVI. 741; also the English works sup.

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not developed doctrinal views at variance with orthodox teaching. But the principles on which he defended the ecclesiastical policy of his new patron might easily have appeared to many as "subversive of the framework of society".[1]

At the appointed hour Wycliffe appeared at St. Paul's, with Lancaster and Percy to support him, and four Mendicant Doctors of Divinity, one from each Order, retained for his defence. A lively scene ensued. The citation of Wycliffe had created a ferment in the city; St. Paul's was crowded, and the Ducal party had difficulty in getting in. Percy, as Marshal, was ordering his men to clear a way by force, when Courtenay met him with a peremptory inhibition, threatening to turn him out, if he ventured to exercise lay authority within the precincts. With tempers sufficiently ruffled by this preliminary collision, the parties made their way to the Lady Chapel. There a fresh altercation ensued, on the question whether Wycliffe should be allowed the indulgence of a seat or not. Hot words were again exchanged between Percy and Courtenay; Lancaster joined in the dispute, swearing that he would humble the pride of all the bishops in England; finally, losing his temper utterly, he threatened to drag Courtenay out by the hair of his head. At this the mob rose, and the meeting broke up in confusion.[2]

Courtenay was popular in his diocese, while Lancaster's unpopularity was enough to drown all feeling for Wycliffe. But the Londoners had been further irritated by a report that the Duke was planning an attack on the City franchises, and that the jurisdiction of the Mayor was to be suspended. On the morrow an excited meeting was held at the Guildhall to concert measures; the Lords Fitz-Walter and Brian came in, uninvited guests, and met with a cool reception. They found it prudent to make common cause with the

[1] Shirley, Fasc. Ziz. xxvi. See also the Pope's language, "Etiam saecularem politiam subvertere nituntur;" "omnem destruere politiam;" Walsingham, I. 346, &c. See also Bp. Stubbs, sup. 460. "His logical system of politics, when it was applied to practice, turned out to be little else than socialism."

[2] Chron. Angl. 118–120.

citizens, and to take the oath to maintain the city's rights. Fitz-Walter reminded them that he was their hereditary standard-bearer, and informed them that there was at that moment a prisoner illegally detained in the Marshal's "inn". An attack was forthwith made upon Percy's residence; the prisoner was set free and the mansion sacked. But Percy was not there. The mob then marched to the Savoy, but were again disappointed. Both Percy and Lancaster were dining with John of Ypres, a wealthy merchant. The party were at their first course—the oysters[1]—when a messenger rushed in bidding them to flee for their lives. "The Duke leapt so hastily from his oysters that he hurt both his legges against the fourme."[2] Percy and he made their way to the Thames, and "never stinted rowing", till they found a refuge with the Princess of Wales at Kennington. Throughout the day the streets were in the hands of the mob; the Bishop restrained them from attacking the Savoy; but the Duke's scutcheon over a shop in Cheapside was hung upside down in derision; his retainers were maltreated; and a priest who was rash enough to abuse the name of Peter de la Mare was so beaten that he died of his injuries.[3]

The prosecution of Wycliffe was given up, but on the whole, Courtenay had gained a victory over John of Gaunt. When the Princess of Wales attempted to make peace between the Londoners and the Duke, they answered with the request that the Duke would grant a fair trial to William of Wykeham and Peter de la Mare. But the citizens were aware that they had gone too far, and that their liberties had been imperilled by the recent disturbances. They requested an audience of the King, and obtained it, in spite of Lancaster's opposition.[4] Edward received them at Sheen (Richmond). "His gracious demeanour and ready

[1] "Circumstantes ostreas." [2] "Ad formam."

[3] Chron. Angl. 121–125, 397; and Stow's translation.

[4] Chron. Angl. 127. To satisfy Lancaster's wounded honour the Mayor was turned out of office, and a new one appointed; Foed. III. 1076; 21 March, Chron. London (H. Nicolas). The citizens also agreed to offer a magnificent taper at St. Paul's with Lancaster's arms on it; Chron. Angl. 133.

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promises had their usual effect." The excitement subsided, and the work of Parliament and Convocation was brought to a conclusion. The Commons, rejecting all the alternatives propounded, contented themselves with the grant of a wretched poll-tax of fourpence a head on all persons over fourteen years of age; and even that offer was made conditional on the grant of a general amnesty, in honour of the King's second Jubilee. The terms of this concession were settled at Sheen on the 22nd February in the King's presence, but Lancaster managed to keep William of Wykeham's name out of the amnesty.[1] The Commons at first required that the proceeds of the poll-tax should be paid to special commissioners, but the condition was ultimately waived.[2] The clergy, content for once to follow the lead of the laity, agreed to extend the poll-tax to themselves, seculars and regulars alike agreeing to pay fourpence a head, a paltry contribution in comparison with the Tenths usually granted.[3] A petition presented by the clergy in favour of William of Wykeham received no answer; but it is interesting to notice that the answers to the petitions of the Commons, many of which were mere repetitions of petitions presented in the last Parliament, were more conciliatory in tone than on the former occasion. Formal petitions for the reinstatement of all persons condemned by the last Parliament were put in and granted, and so in outward seeming the work of the Good Parliament was wholly undone.[4]

The reign closed without further incidents of consequence. On the 23rd April the Heir Apparent was knighted and installed of the Garter;[5] on the 26th of the month ambassadors were commissioned once more to treat of peace with France. From the French chronicler we learn that though affairs were going well with them, they were still liberal in their offers of money and land, but always under reservation of the *dernier ressort*, the old difficulty—and so a petty

[1] Rot. Parlt. II. 364, 365; Statutes, I. 397.
[2] Rot. Parlt. sup.
[3] Chron. Angl. 131.
[4] Rot. Parlt. 364–375.
[5] Beltz, Garter, 233, 270; Murimuth, Cont. 225; Walsingham, I. 326.

extension of the truce to the 24th June was all that could be arranged.[1] William of Wykeham, bowing to the corruption of the times, "bought his peace through Alice Perrers"; John of Gaunt resisting to the last.[2] The order for the restitution of the temporalities of Winchester must have been one of the very last issued by the King; it was sealed on the 18th June; on the 21st of the month, about seven o'clock in the evening, Edward of Windsor breathed his last, at Richmond,[3] in the 65th year of his life and the 51st of his reign. The chronicler records with pain that his conversation was frivolous to the last. Among the courtly throng that filled the Royal bedchamber only one nameless priest was found to urge the King to the utterance of a last word of contrition or prayer. When all was clearly over the sycophant crowd vanished—as usually happened at the death of a king—Alice Perrers carrying off the rings from the fingers of the deceased.[4]

Death of Edward III.

Edward III was a man of shapely figure, middle height, and handsome pleasing features.[5] The effigy on his tomb in the choir of Westminster Abbey exhibits a long, silky beard, a refined, statuesque nose, and a smooth but rather feminine brow; as a waxen image of the King was modelled from the corpse before burial,[6] the likeness may be trusted as correct.

Edward was a man of the sensuo-athletic type, morally weak, easily led, fond of pomp and show, selfish, extravagant and ambitious, without sense of duty, or regard for justice. Of money he was greedy to meanness; for the welfare of his subjects he probably cared as little as Richard I did. But a fine presence, charming manners, and a happy readiness to promise carried him through every difficulty.

[1] Foed. III. 1076; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 347. Froissart speaks of a proposal to marry young Richard to Charles's daughter Marie; I. 708.

[2] Chron. Angl. 136; Foed. 1079; Stubbs.

[3] Foed. 1079, 1080.

[4] Chron. Angl. 143; Walsingham, I. 327.

[5] "Corpore elegans, statura quae nec justum excederet nec nimis depressioni succumberet," &c., Walsingham, 348; "Vultum habens deo similem, quia tanta gratia in eo relucebat," &c., Murimuth, Cont. 226.

[6] Green, Princesses, III. 217; citing a Wardrobe account of 1 Richard II. The portrait at Trinity Lodge, Cambridge, answers to this description.

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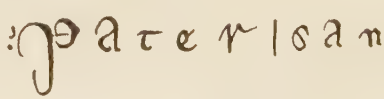
In his youth his boyish energy, activity, and courage, his martial disposition, and readiness to face danger, no doubt made him popular, and the military classes worshipped him to the last. In his latter days the well-disposed writers could not help deploring the painful sight of a monarch worn out with sensuality, and sunk in sloth.[1] For the judgement of the middle classes on his government, the reader has already had that expressed in unmistakable language by the voice of the Good Parliament; every count in the long indictment is aimed ultimately at the King; from first to last he is the principal offender denounced.[2] Among Edward's better qualities a certain tenacity of purpose must be mentioned, and good judgement in the selection of ministers and agents. He was always well served. He was a fair linguist. Besides speaking English and French he must have had a good knowledge of Latin and German, or Flemish,[3] and in fact wrote Latin more correctly than his secretary, Richard of Aungerville, afterwards Bishop of Durham (*Philobiblon*). Edward apparently about the year 1330, being still under his mother's rule, but wishing to establish private relations with John XXII behind Isabelle's back, forwards the words *Pater Sancte* in his own autograph as a countersign. Aungerville in the covering letter addresses the Pope as "Pater Sauncte" (!).[4]



[1] Chron. Angl. 142, and especially Appendix 401; Murimuth, Cont. sup.

[2] See above, pp. 49–54; also the passage from Archbishop Islip's Speculum Regis (MS. Bodl. 624), given by Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 394: "Fy, fy, fy, heu, heu, heu ... erubescere potest tota gens Anglicana habere regem in cujus adventu populus contristatur communiter, et in recessu suo laetatur." See also the condemnation of Edward's government contained in the so-called Prophecy of John of Bridlington, Wright, Pol. Poems, I. 187–192. The song must have been written in 1371 or 1372, as it is dedicated to the Earl of Hereford, who died in January 1373; and it contains a distinct reference to the coming mission of Cardinal Langham (p. 201), who was appointed Legate in November 1370 and came over in 1372. The writer asserts that the King's conduct had created scandal as early as the siege of Calais, 1346–1347.

[3] See Pauli, II. 500.

[4] See Mr. G. C. Crump's Article, Eng. Hist. Rev. XXVI. 332.

CHAPTER VII

Review of the Reign of Edward III

A.D. 1327–1377

Outcome of the reign.—The Constitution.—Military Service.—The Universities.—Architecture.—Letters.—Finance.—The King's Issue.

1327–1377 Contrasts of the Period.

If England owed little to King Edward III "she owes a great deal to the reign". It was a period of strong contrasts, a period of almost continuous war, with either Scotland or France or both; of war marked by brilliant victories, heroic campaigns, and unbroken success;[1] but with nothing in the end to show for it all, except Berwick and Calais. The war no doubt "placed England in the forefront of Christendom, and gave her a new consciousness of unity and importance",[2] but the military classes were demoralized by lust of plunder, and a peaceful population infected with war-fever. At home we have the population suffering from war, taxation, pestilence and famine; but at the same time we have to note a great moral upheaval, marked, in successive stages, by Richard Rolle, Langland and Wycliffe. Taking these in their order, we have in Rolle simple ethical teaching, fortified with appeals to the Psalter, and other passages from Scripture, rendered in the vernacular; with Langland we advance to a revolt against sacerdotalism; and with Wycliffe we rise to the highest doctrinal teaching. Throughout the country the agricultural labourer has been shaking off his bonds, and asserting the right to dispose of his labour; he is prepared to fight those who refuse to concede his demands, and only waits the kindling spark to rise in Peasant Revolt.

[1] Some writers talk of "decadence" in the later wars of the reign. There was no decadence in the campaign of 1373, except in the person of the leader; but the task of holding down France was even more hopeless than that of conquering it.

[2] Bp. Stubbs, 394.

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The reign has been recognized as a period of transition, of seed-time rather than of harvest, but in the matter of the constitution, definite gains must be recorded. Its Parliamentary history begins with the separation of the two Houses, and ends with the institution of the Speakership of the House of Commons. To have obtained a recognition of the illegality of all taxation, direct or indirect, imposed without the consent of Parliament, was in itself a great victory, even if the Commons, as yet, were unable to enforce observance of the law. The reader will remember the jealousy evinced by the Good Parliament even of minute infractions of this principle. The attempt to place the raising of troops under the control of Parliament failed utterly. But the illegality of compelling men either to serve abroad at their own expense, or to submit to fines for exemption, was fully established; the Crown's right of 'distraining' men to serve out of their counties being restricted to the case of foreign invasion. Compulsory service having been abolished, voluntary enlistment had to be resorted to; and, to secure good men, high rates of pay had to be offered—rates always equalling, and often exceeding, those of the best-paid mechanics at home. Thus from the time of Edward III English armies begin to assume their distinctive character, as small bodies of picked men, serving of their own free will, and highly paid.[1] The more important enactments of the reign, such as the Statute of Treasons, and the Statutes of Provisors and Praemunire, have been already noticed; but we may again refer to the Act by which the sheriff's term of office was restricted to one year;[2] also to those by which the jurisdiction of the Justices of the Peace was finally established.[3] These last mark an important point in the transition from the old system to the new. The equitable jurisdiction of the Chancellor also dates from this time. Early

[1] In 1369–1370, archers on the Channel were to receive 6*d.* a day, as much as carpenters or masons; those going to Aquitaine were to receive 12*d.* a day. Issue Roll, 44 Edw. III (Devon), 99, 268.

[2] 14 Edw. III; Statutes, I. 283.

[3] 18 Edw. III, st. 2, c. 2, and 34 Edw. III, c. 1; Statutes, I. 301, 364.

in the reign the Chancellor ceased to act as the King's personal secretary, and to follow his movements, settling down at Westminster with a court and jurisdiction of his own. "Petitions for grace and favour began to be addressed primarily to him, instead of being simply referred to him by the King, or passed on through his hands. In the twenty-second year of the reign such transactions are recognized as the proper province of the Chancellor."[1]

The Universities.

At both Universities the collegiate system, the indigenous and abiding English system, not to be displaced by competing systems of foreign origin, continued to extend itself. In January 1340 Robert of Eglesfield, chaplain to Queen Philippa, obtained a royal licence to found a collegiate hall for scholars at Oxford, under the name of 'the Queen's Hall of Oxford'. The site selected was "a little to the North of the High Street, about midway between the East Gate of the city (low down the High Street) and the church of St. Mary the Virgin,"[2] but not at first actually fronting on High Street, as at present. About the year 1343 the Master and Scholars of William of Durham,[3] as they were termed, seem to have removed from their original dwelling in School Street[4] to premises in High Street opposite the new Queen's Hall, and there came to be known as the Master and Scholars of the Great Hall of the University, or "Mickle University Hall".[5] One other foundation at Oxford fell within the reign, namely that of Canterbury Hall, established by Archbishop Islip in 1361 or 1362, on a site facing Oriel College.[6] The Hall was expressly founded to help to fill the blanks in the ranks of the clergy caused by the Great Plague.[7] The foundation was a mixed one, for Benedictine monks and secular students together, an arrangement that did not prove to

[1] Rot. Claus. 38 Edw. III; Hardy, Close Rolls, I. pref. xxviii; Bp. Stubbs.
[2] Maxwell Lyte, Hist. Oxford Univ. 147.
[3] See Dawn of Constitution, 529.
[4] "School Street ran along the present front of Brasenose College" (Boase, "Oxford"); now Turle Street.
[5] Maxwell Lyte, sup. 153.
[6] Id. 162–167; above I. 452, note.
[7] Id., citing Fifth Hist. MSS. Com. 450.

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work well. Henry Woodhull, the first Warden, appointed in 1362, was a Canterbury Benedictine; he gave trouble, and in 1365 Islip removed him, and appointed Wycliffe. But next year the Archbishop died, and his successor Langham, himself a monk, cancelled Wycliffe's appointment, to make way for another Regular. The memory of Canterbury Hall, subsequently incorporated with Christ Church, lives in Canterbury Quad and Canterbury Gate.[1] Lastly we may notice that the struggle of the University to emancipate itself from the jurisdiction of its diocesan was finally decided in its favour in 1368, when Urban V issued a Bull abrogating the claim of the Bishop of Lincoln to confirm the Chancellor-elect of Oxford (originally his deputy). From that time to the present the University has enjoyed full right of self-government, without reference to any superior authority whatever.[2]

Cambridge.

Thus during the reign Oxford was enriched by two new foundations. Cambridge fared better, as she was endowed with no less than five if not six new foundations. The first of these was Pembroke Hall, established in 1347 by Marie de Saint Pol, a French lady of noble birth, second wife and relict of Aylmer of Valence, Earl of Pembroke. The Hall was also known as the House or "*Domus*" of "Valence-Marie".[3]

The next foundation was that of Gonville Hall. In 1348 Edmund Gonville, at one time Vicar-General of the diocese of Ely, obtained leave from Edward III to establish in Lathbarne Lane, "now known as Freeschool Lane", a college for twenty scholars, dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin.[4]

At Oxford we had Canterbury Hall founded with the declared object of repairing the ravages of the Plague. At Cambridge no less than three colleges arose more or less

[1] Maxwell Lyte, 176–179; Lechler, Wiclif, I. 294.

[2] Maxwell Lyte, 170; Wilkins, Conc. III. 75.

[3] Bass Mullinger, "Cambridge," 236. The Countess was married in 1322, lost her husband in 1324, and herself lived till April 1377. She retained estates in France apparently till 1377; Complete Peerage.

[4] Bass Mullinger, 239.

in the same connexion. It was chiefly with a view to recruiting the ranks of the clergy in his diocese that William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich, proceeded in 1350 to found Trinity Hall. The college was expressly founded for students of civil and canon law, and for such alone, "the balance inclining slightly in favour of the civilians";[1] and, accordingly, devoted to legal study the Hall remains to the present day. Another college whose foundation may be attributed, though less directly, to the ravages of the Plague, was that of Corpus Christi, founded by two of the Cambridge Gilds, namely the Gild of Corpus Christi and that of the Blessed Virgin. These Gilds were, ostensibly, Benefit Societies, but it appears that—if such an expression may be used without irreverence—they might better be described as offices for insurance against the terrors of the World To Come, the bulk of their funds being devoted to providing Masses, for the benefit of the souls of unfortunate brethren, who might have chanced to die without the due ministrations of the Church. It occurred to the members of the two Gilds that the process of arranging for the celebration of the desired Masses might be simplified by establishing a college for the education of clergy, who should be bound, in return for the benefit of their education, to celebrate whatever Masses might be required. Henry of Grosmont, the Good Duke of Lancaster, was Alderman of these Gilds, and through his influence the royal licence was obtained to found the college known as Corpus Christi. The statutes appear to be dated in 1350.[2] The third college founded with the express purpose of filling the waste created by the ravages of the Plague was that of Clare Hall, established in 1359 by Elisabeth of Clare,[3] sister and co-heiress of Gilbert III of Clare, Earl of Gloucester, who was killed at Bannockburn. She herself had been married first to John de Burgh, son of Richard, Earl of Ulster; secondly to Theobald, Lord Verdon; and thirdly to Roger, Lord Amory. The Lady of Clare, as she was

[1] Bass Mullinger, 242.

[2] Id. 247–249 and note.

[3] See the preamble to her statutes, Id. 251.

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called from her share of the Gloucester inheritance, had by her first husband a son William who became Earl of Ulster. By her other husbands she had no issue. Having survived her three husbands and her son, she lived to see her granddaughter Elisabeth de Burgh, the heiress of her son William, transfer Ulster and Clare under the glorified style of Clarence to the King's son Lionel of Antwerp. She herself died in 1360.[1]

In the last year of his reign Edward II had founded an establishment for thirty-two scholars at Cambridge, as if to balance his benefaction to Oxford, but had not provided a residence. That want was supplied by his son, who gave the "King's Scholars" a mansion near the Hospital of St. John (now St. John's College); the foundation came to be known as King's Hall; by the subsequent merger of King's Hall with Michaelhouse and Garret's Hostel, to establish Trinity College, the name of Edward III became associated with that "illustrious foundation".[2] The entrance gateway of King's Hall, removed from its original position in the centre of the present Great Court of Trinity, may be seen on the North side of the same Court, adjoining the chapel, a genuine relic of the times of the Third Edward.

With the reign of Edward III we sink from the delightful Decorated style of Gothic architecture to the Perpendicular, a purely English style, home-grown, and free from all suspicion of foreign taste. Tame and monotonous as applied to church architecture, in the way of domestic buildings the style has given us most charming private mansions and collegiate halls. It quickly became popular, practically ousting all earlier styles; it must be added that its quietism gained it a prolonged existence, forfeited by French Gothic through the extravagances into which its Flamboyant traceries fell. The casing of the grand Norman walls and piers of the choir of Gloucester cathedral with Perpendicular tracery, executed in 1336,[3] is held to mark

[1] Complete Peerage. [2] Bass Mullinger, 252.
[3] J. H. Middleton, Academy, 21 April 1883.

the advent of the new style. At Winchester a similar transformation of the nave from Norman to Perpendicular was begun by William of Wykeham under Bishop Edendon (1345–1367), and continued by Wykeham himself as bishop. The re-casing of the first two bays on the north side, and the rebuilding of the west front are held to belong to the time of Edendon. Wykeham might have shown better taste, as before that he had been employed in finishing the beautiful Decorated chapel of St. Stephen's, Westminster (1348),[1] the crypt of which still remains. To the time of Bishop Beck (1342–1347) is attributed the south end of the great transept at Lincoln and its round window. Among the finest monuments of the reign must be reckoned the spire of Norwich Cathedral (Bishop Percy, 1356–1369); the octagon at Ely (1321–1342); and Archbishop Thoresby's work at York (1361–1373), namely the so-called "Presbytery" and Lady Chapel, being the four eastmost bays of the Minster, an early and attractive specimen of the style. The rest of the choir, westwards to the Early English transepts, and the central tower, odd as it may seem, were added later, to replace the previous Norman choir.[2]

Language and literature.

In the language and literature of the reign, again, we have appearances of transition and progress. The "welding heat" that wrought the constituents of English speech and nationality into a consistent whole "was generated by the wars of Edward III";[3] the process being completed by those of Henry V and Henry VI. Companionship in arms, daily intercourse on the march and in the camp brought the men who spoke French into closer and more intimate contact with the men who spoke English than was possible at home. For our actual period we must again take Richard Rolle of Hampole, with Lawrence Minot and the author of "Piers Plowman" as its best exponents; Chaucer and Wycliffe figured in it, but their position in the history of English literature falls better to be considered in connexion

[1] Foed. III. 167.
[2] See Mr. R. J. King's Handbook to the Cathedrals of England.
[3] G. P. Marsh, Lectures on Engl. Lang. 146, 259.

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with the next reign. Rolle was born of respectable parents, probably about the year 1300, near Pickering in the North Riding of Yorkshire. He studied at Oxford; a man of a mystic turn of mind, on leaving the University he devoted himself to the life of a hermit, living at first near home, but finally settling at Hampole near Doncaster. Avoiding all theological and academic subtleties, he sought by contemplation to rise to a knowledge of God and the elevation of his own soul. From meditation he turned to preaching, as a practical reformer, denouncing worldliness and vice. An instrument of wider range for working upon others he found in the pen: "intense personal feeling, sympathy and simplicity" are the chief features of his writings, and as such "apart from their language they appeal to all ages alike".[1] A faithful son of the Church, his detachment and a certain freedom of speech caused him to be subsequently claimed by the Lollards as one of themselves. Not without reason was he regarded as a Saint; while miracles were ascribed to his influence. He died 29th September 1348.[2] He wrote in northern dialect, and his works had a wide circulation, the existing MSS. being excessively numerous. His "Pricke of Conscience",[3] his best-known writing, is very ascetic in its teaching. Besides this we have his Psalter, giving the Vulgate Latin, with an English translation and voluminous Commentaries;[4] also paraphrases of Job and Jeremiah. The first three verses of the first Psalm may be taken as a sample:

"Blisful the man the whilk oway zed noght in the counsaile of wicked; and in the way of synful stode noght, and in the chaiere of pestilens (*cathedra pestilencie*) he noght sat.

But in laghe of lord the will of him; and in his laghe he sall thynke day and night.

And he sall be as a tre that is sett byside the stremes of waters, the whilk sall gif his froyte in his time."

The tone is pathetic in its simplicity.

[1] Cambridge Hist. Engl. Lit. II. 46.
[2] Id. 45 note.
[3] R. Morris, Philolog. Socy. 1863.
[4] H. R. Bramley, Clarendon Press, 1884.

Minot has left us eleven short poems, in ten different metres, all singing the victories of Edward III. He begins with Halidon Hill and ends with the capture of Guisnes in 1352; all were clearly composed shortly after the several events that they commemorate, and are interesting as reflections of popular feeling at the time. They are not lacking in spirit, and the variety of the metres employed shows some skill in versification. Throughout the King is referred to as a bear or boar,[1] in order to bring him in as accomplishing a prophecy of Merlin; we have already given a specimen of Minot's writing, but must append the reference to Merlin.

Men may rede in Romance right
Of a grete clerk that Merlin hight;
Ful many bokes er of him wreten,
Als thir clerkes wele may witten;
And ȝit in many privé nokes
May men find of Merlin bokes
Merlin said thus with his mowth
Out of the north into the sowth
Suld cum a bare over the se
That suld mak many man to fle,
And in these he said ful right,
Suld he schew ful mekill might;
And in France he suld begin
To mak them wrath that er therein
Untill the se his taile reche sale
All folk of France to mekill bale
Thus have I mater for to make
For a nobill prince sake;
Help me God my wit es thin;
Now Lawrence Minot will begin.[2]

It will be noticed that the dialect is northern; but the only MS. is probably of the time of Henry V, and the orthography has evidently been modified.

The first edition of the celebrated poem by William Langland or Langley (familiarly known as "Long Wille"),

[1] Sometimes "bare", sometimes "bore".

[2] See Wright, Pol. Poems, I. 58–91 (Rolls Series, No. 14), from the sole MS., Cott. Galba, E, IX. f. 49.

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"The vision concerning Piers the Plowman", appeared in 1362, the year of the first delivery of the King's Speech in English. The author's purpose is partly satirical, partly didactic. He falls asleep "in a somer sesun", on the Malvern Hills; and in a dream beholds "a feir feld ful of folk"; he sees on one hand the Tower of Truth, in a deep dale on the other hand the Castle of Care.[1] "A lovely ladi . . . . in linnene i-clothed" comes forward to explain the miniature world lying before him, and to point out the true 'Way of Life'.[2] Bridal festivities are seen going on—preparations for the marriage of Falsehood with "Mede the Mayden" (Lucre). Theology protests against the match, and the parties adjourn to Westminster to obtain the King's decision. The King suggests that the damsel should rather marry Conscience. Mede is willing, but Conscience will have none of her. Mede defends herself from his charges and retaliates: *she* never deserted the King in Normandy; 'had *she* been marshal of his men he had been lord of the land.'[3] The King in doubt sends for Reason. Reason declares against Mede, and the King with some hesitation confirms his finding.

"Bote hit is hard, be myn hed, herto hit bringe
All my lige leodes to lede thus evene."[4]

This ends the first vision. A second introduces Conscience preaching; whereat the Seven Deadly Sins come forward one by one, confess their misdeeds and repent. An inquiry is then raised after St. Truth. "A thousand of men" start on a pilgrimage to his abode, but no one knows the way.[5] This introduces Piers the Plowman, the personification of honest unpretending Industry. He shows the way. Peter's teaching, with the concomitant incidents, occupy three "Passus" or parts—'Fyttes'—and then follows a third vision, that of "Do-well", "Do-bet" and "Do-best". In this the author gives his views of the higher

[1] Prologus. The references will be given to Professor Skeat's edition of the A text, or earliest version of the poem; Early English Text Society, 1867.
[2] Passus I, p. 7.
[3] Passus II and III.
[4] 'To hold so even a hand between my liege folk.'
[5] Passus V.

spiritual life. Do-well is to fear God; Do-better to suffer; Do-best to be lowly of heart.[1]

This is the outline of the work. For originality, liveliness, and moral earnestness it is not unworthy of comparison with the 'Pilgrim's Progress'. It is a genuine voice from the people, an outspoken protest against the shams and corruptionsof society; more especially against those of the Church. The writer, however, was no "precursor of Wycliffe in his broader religious views",[2] no speculative theologian; he acquiesces in the faith and usages of the Church; but incidentally he saps the foundations of sacerdotal domination by his constant appeals to reason and conscience and plain Scriptural truth, as the guides of the soul. The wealth of the clergy specially offends him—"with Wycliffe and the spiritual Franciscans, Langland ascribes all the evils, social and religious, of the dreary world to the wealth of the Clergy, of the Monks, and the still more incongruous wealth of the Mendicants".[3]

"I font there Freres, all the foure Ordres,
Prechinge the peple, for profyt of heore wombes (their bellies)
Glosynge the Gospel as hem good liketh
For covetyse of copes construeth hit ille."[4]

Langland "almost adores poverty, but it is the industrious down-trodden rustic poverty; not that of the impostor beggar, common in his days, and denounced as sternly as by the political economy of our own; still less of the religious mendicant. Both these are fiercely excluded from his far-reaching charity".[5]

"Bidders and beggers faste a-boute eoden
Till heore bagges and heore balies weren bratful i-crommet;
Feyneden hem[6] for heore foode, foughten atte alle;
In glotonye, God wot, gon heo to bedde,

[1] Passus IX–XI.

[2] Marsh, English Language, 304. Langland's tone throughout is gloomy but not so despairing as that of the Song of the Husbandman of the days of Edward I.

[3] Milman, VI. 537, &c.

[4] Prologus, 3, 4.

[5] Milman, 538.

[6] Made pretences.

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And ryseth up with ribaudye, this roberdes knaves.

. . . . . .

Pilgrimes and palmers plihted hem to-gederes,
For to seche seint Ieme,[1] and seintes at Roome;
Wenten forth in heore wey with mony wise tales,
And hedden leve to lyȝen al heore lyf aftir.
Ermytes on an hep with hokide staves
Wenten to Walsyngham, and here wenchis aftir,
Grete lobres and longe, that loth weore to swynke" (sweat, work).[2]

Against the clergy he is hardly less severe.

"Persones and parisch prestes playneth to heore Bisschops,
That heore parisch hath ben pore seththe the pestilence tyme,
And asketh leve and lycence at Londun to dwelle,
And singe ther for Simonye, for selver is swete.

Ther prechede a pardoner, as he a prest were,
And brouȝt up a bulle with bisschopes seles,
And seide that him-self mihte a-soylen hem alle,
Of falsnesse and fastinge and of vouwes i-broken.
The lewede men likede him wel and leeveth his speche,
And comen up knelynge and cusseden (kissed) his bulle;

. . . . . .

Weore the bisschop i-blesset, and worth bothe his eres
Heo scholde not beo so hardi to deceyve so the peple.

. . . . . .

I sauh ther bisschops bolde and bachilers of divyn
Bi-coome clerkes of a-counte the Kyng for to serven;
Erchedekenes and deknes that dignite haven
To preche the peple and pore men to feede,
Beon lopen to Londun by leve of heore bisschopes,
To ben clerkes of the Kynges Benche the cuntre to schende".[3]

Towards the Papacy the author is guarded in his language. He condemns 'Provisions', and laments that 'Simonye' and 'Mede' are "prive with the Pope", and have the "seling of the bulles". But he does not question the Papal authority.

[1] St. James of Compostella in Galicia, Spain.
[2] Prologus, 3. [3] Disgrace. Id. 4 and 5.

"Now hath the Pope pouwer pardoun to graunte,
The peple withoute penaunce to passe to Ioye.
This is a lef of ure bileeve as lettret men us techeth,
Quodcunque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in celis.
And so bileeve I lelly (ur lord forbeode hit elles!)
That pardoun and penaunce and preyers don saven
Soules that han sunget seven sithes[1] dedlich.
Bote trustene to trienals[2] treuly me thinketh
Is not so syker for the soule, sertes, as do-wel.
For-thi I rede 3ow renkes[3] that riche ben on eorthe
Uppon trust of oure tresour trienals to have,
Beo 3e never the baldere to breke the ten hestes;
And nomeliche 3e meires and 3e maister juges,
That han the welthe of this world, for wise men ben holden,
To purchasen pardoun and the Popes bulles;
At the dredful day of dom ther dede schullen a-rysen
And comen alle bi-fore crist and a-countes 3elden
How thou laddest thi lyf and his lawe keptest,
What thou dudest day bi day the doom the wol rehercen;
A powhel of pardoun ther with provincials lettres,
Thauh thou be founden in fraternite among the foure ordres,
And habbe indulgence idoubled, bote[4] Do-well the helpe
I nolde 3eve for thi pardoun one pye-hele."[5]

When such strains could be uttered with impunity and heard with delight England was not far from the Reformation.

The author issued successive editions of his work with expansions and additions, perhaps not always improvements; these issues are known as the B and C texts. The B text was evidently published in 1377 between the death of the Prince of Wales and that of the King. The C text was issued after Richard II had become thoroughly unpopular, say 1393–1399.[6]

As evidence of the rapid growth of English as a literary tongue during this reign, it has been shown that out of

[1] Times. [2] 'Triennials;' Masses sung daily for three years.
[3] men. [4] except.
[5] Pye-crust; Passus VIII. 101, 102.
[6] For an analysis of the whole poem see J. M. Manly, Camb. Hist. II. 1.

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fifty words, nouns, verbs and adverbs, Rolle has three obsolete and five Romance words; Langland in the same number has two obsolete and seven Romance words. But the English destined to become the standard language was developing in the East Midlands, in the shires of Northampton, Leicester, Huntingdon and Rutland.[1]

Early in the century various causes had transferred the intellectual supremacy of Paris to Oxford, and the ruling spirits of the period were Ockham, Bradwardine and Wycliffe. Strange as it may seem, the characteristics of English thought in those days were audacity and love of novelty, as distinguished from "the more grave and solid learning of the continent".[2] Ockham had not feared to support Louis of Bavaria in his struggle with the Papacy, and in spite of spiritual thunders had asserted the right of temporal sovereigns' authority in the boldest strains.[3] It was on Ockham's principles that Wycliffe maintained the right of Parliament to reject the Papal tribute.

Finance.

We do not presume to think that we have sounded all the depths of the finance of an extravagant reign, but we can claim to have, at the cost of no inconsiderable amount of labour, produced an array of facts that will give an instructive insight into the mysteries of the subject. We show in the first place the full totals of the Revenue of each year of the reign, as given by the official Pell Rolls, supplemented, as they have to be, by the Wardrobe Accounts (Table I), and even then, there will be, above or below that sum, an unattainable final total which we cannot indicate. We then deal with each several branch of the Revenue, whether ordinary or extraordinary, giving estimates of

[1] Kington-Oliphant, Old and Middle English, 475, ed. 1878.

[2] Shirley, Fasc. Ziz. xlviii.

[3] William of Ockham in Surrey was a man of humble birth and parentage: he is said to have studied at Merton College, Oxford; became a Franciscan; went to Paris to study theology under John "Duns Scotus"; embraced the quarrel of Philip the Fair against Boniface VIII (1300–1303); was elected Provincial of the English Franciscans, 1322; excommunicated, 1333; took refuge with Louis of Bavaria; and died at Munich about 1347. He was the chief of the Nominalists; Biographie Universelle; Milman.

the returns; of the Customs the full totals, year by year, are shown from the authoritative Enrolled Accounts (Table II): finally we offer analyses of the receipts and expenditure of two individual years, by way of illustration (Tables III and IV). No receipts either from Gascony or Ireland appear in this reign. Ireland had not recovered from her devastation by the Scots, and the receipts just sufficed to pay the garrisons of the King's castles. Gascony was a scene of warfare throughout the period.

Turning to our first Table the reader will see that leaving out six years that are incomplete or wanting, the Revenue, omitting shillings and pence, might vary from £35,640 to £272,833 a year, the latter, we take it, being a sum for which few were prepared. The average of the forty-five years that are complete comes out on the face of it in round numbers as £140,000. We may contrast this sum with the £86,000 that we found as the average for the reign of the King's father, or the £95,000 that we found for the last five years of the reign of his grandfather.[1] But it would be a mistake to suppose that the resources of the country had expanded to that extent; we shall find that the Revenue totals were to a considerable extent hollow, swelled by loans from foreigners, and book entries representing nothing but debt. Thus it will be seen on our Table I that the totals exhibit startling fluctuations, not always in harmony with the grants and subsidies that we have recorded. We may jump from £46,246 in one year to £111,029 in the next, or again drop, as suddenly, from £148,024 to £88,480. So between the eighteenth and nineteenth years (1343–1345) the reader will notice a drop in the totals from £128,780 to £75,818 and £75,699, followed next year by a rise to a more normal £157,012. We can give some account of this seeming discrepancy. The fall was certainly in part due to wholesale 'assignments' by which money which ought to have figured in the Revenue was intercepted, so to speak, at the fountain-head, and never allowed to reach

[1] See above, vol. I. 173, and Dawn of Constitution, 538.

the Treasury. In 1342 it was suggested to the King that it might save trouble to farm out the whole of the Customs to a syndicate of English merchants, and, accordingly, for the years 1343–1345 (18th–19th years) the Customs were farmed out for £50,000 a year, or £100,000 in all. The fact that there were such lumps of Crown money going having transpired, the King was evidently assailed with petitions by all the court circle, headed by Queen Isabelle, for assignments on these handy funds, with the comic result that of the whole £100,000 just £32,315 reached the Exchequer, to figure either in the Pell Rolls, or the Wardrobe Accounts. But the full amount appears in the Customs' accounts on our Table II. If we divide the intercepted £67,685 between the two years we shall raise them to £109,660 and £109,541 respectively, more in harmony with the years before and after them. The sudden falls in the thirty-ninth and forty-second years may be attributed to the same cause. The equalization of these years alone would bring our average up to nearly £150,000 a year. But, if under the system of assignments the revenue was understated to a certain extent, we find on the other hand that, by a book-keeping by which the King's debts were made to figure as income, the revenue was probably overstated to a much greater extent, as we shall show below.[1]

It will be seen that the King's extravagance soon reached its height, namely in the twelfth year (1337–1338), when the revenue rose to £272,833—the time of the 30,000 sacks of wool, when, in addition, three lay and as many clerical Subsidies were voted within three twelvemonths. This was the period of the subsidies to the Flemish princes, the time of Edward's grand doings abroad, when finally he had to escape from his creditors, overwhelmed with debt. The other years when the Revenue exceeded £200,000 were the twenty-first (1346–1347), the period of the siege of Calais; and the years 1369, 1370, and 1372–

[1] See under Cancelled Tallies, 44. For assignments or direct grants see Dawn of Constitution, 291, 532.

1374, being the time of the renewal of the war, after the final breakdown of the Peace of Brétigny. For 1347 we have double lay and clerical Subsidies; for 1369 treble Tenths, and, between 1370 and 1374, £100,000 from laity and clergy, with three lay and one clerical Subsidies, the wool and leather duties being at 50*s.* and 100*s.* from natives.

Old Crown Revenues.

I. To take the several heads of the Revenue in order, beginning with the most ancient, if not now the most important branch, namely the hereditary landed possessions, and other sources of income connected with the Crown, or flowing from its prerogatives, our analysis of the twentieth year of the reign (Table III) with all these together, including fines, vacant sees, Priories Alien, Mint and Hanaper only comes to £15,723 17*s.* 7*d.* But something extraordinary must have happened to account for so abnormal a return. Looking backwards to the sums found for former reigns, and forwards to the sums to be found under Richard II,[1] we will assume an average of £30,000 a year.

Lay Fifteenths.

II. Of money grants from Parliament Edward had the following: in 1327 a Twentieth and a Scutage; with Fifteenths and Tenths in the following years, namely 1332, 1334, 1336 (two), 1337, 1344 (two), 1346 (two), 1348 (three), 1352 (three), 1357, 1360, 1372, 1373 (two), twenty in all. Then there were the 'grants' of 30,000 sacks of wool in 1337, and of 20,000 sacks in 1338 with the grants of the ninth sheaf, lamb and fleece in 1340 and 1341, and the lay £50,000 of 1371, with finally the poll-tax of 1377. The returns from the Scutage would be too trifling to notice; for the Twentieth, comparing the yield of the Fifteenths and Tenths we would allow £28,000, and for the Fifteenths and Tenths £38,170, that being the assessment of 1332 adopted in 1334 and retained throughout the reign.[2] The two Ninths must be taken to have yielded decidedly more than the ordinary Fifteenth and Tenth, say £43,000 each.

[1] See Antiquary, IV. 206, £29,000 and £39,000.

[2] See Topham, Archaeol. VII. 338.

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The lay £50,000 speaks for itself; and the poll-tax brought in £22,607 2*s.* 8*d.*

The operation of the 30,000 sacks of 1337 may be regarded as a further Subsidy. It turned out a profitable affair, though perhaps not quite so profitable as the King expected it to be. On the Wardrobe Accounts for the two years 12 July 1338–27 May 1340 we can trace pretty clearly what it came to. The total receipts from all sources amount to the amazing sum of £262,731 18*s.* 3*d.*, of which only £86,076 came from the Treasury. Among the direct receipts we have first an item of 'custom and subsidy on wool, £22,018 17*s.* 9*d.*'; then later 'wool, custom, subsidy and sundry, £143,143 2*s.* 0*d.*' The first of these items represents an ordinary contribution from the Customs; the second one may be taken to represent the profit on the 30,000 sacks, at any rate perhaps to the extent of £140,000. At £5 the sack the amount would be £150,000. As for the 20,000 sacks of 1338, they were to be paid for out of the Ninths; at any rate no extraordinary receipts appear that we can attribute to them, unless indeed they also came in under our £140,000.

Clerical Tenths.

Turning to the Clerical Subsidies, we have twenty-three Tenths from both Provinces as follows, viz. in 1327, 1330 (four, Papal),[1] 1334, 1336 (two), 1337, 1338, 1339, 1344 (two), 1346 (two), 1351 (two), 1360, 1369 (three), and 1373. Of the four Tenths granted in 1330, half should have gone to the Curia; but we have seen that the King managed to lay his hands on the Pope's share as well as on his own. We pass over a Tenth alleged by Avesbury in 1356. We are told that the Tenths granted by John XXII in 1330 realized only £17,000 each; the produce of the York Tenths having fallen to £3,000, through the ravages of the Scots, and in fact to less before the end of the reign.[2]

[1] See Wake, State of Church, 280; Foed. II. 786. It is not clear to me that these four Crusade Tenths were more than the balance of the six Tenths voted at Vienne, of which only two seemed to have been raised. The Papal rent was alleged to be then thirty-three years in arrear.

[2] As early as 1318 the assessment of 1292 had to be revised and reduced to £192,000.

Putting these together we have

	£
Lay Grants	
One Twentieth	28,000
Twenty Fifteenths and Tenths at £38,170 each	763,400
Ninths	86,000
Sacks of Wool	140,000
Grant of 1371	50,000
Poll Tax, say (clergy included)	22,600
Clerical Grants	
Twenty-three Tenths at £17,000 each	391,000
Grant of 1371	50,000
	£1,531,000

Spread over the fifty years that would come to £30,620 a year.

III. Of the several branches of the Revenue the Customs are perhaps the most instructive; for one thing their history shows how helpless the Commons were in the hands of the King; they might grumble and protest, but they could present no effectual barrier to the Royal will. The reign began with the dues current at the close of the previous reign, namely the *Magna* or *Antiqua Custuma* of 6*s.* 8*d.* on the sack of wool and 300 woolfells, and 13*s.* 4*d.* on the "last" of leather, to be taken from natives and aliens alike. The sack of wool contained 26 stone of 14 lb., and the last of leather contained 20 "dickers", or 200 hides in all. Besides the *Antiqua* there was the *Nova* or *Parva Custuma* from aliens only, which ran as follows:

Customs.

Antiqua Custuma.

Parva Custuma.

	s.	*d.*
Sack of Wool and 300 wool fells	3	4
Last of leather	6	8
Wax per quintal (100 lbs.)	1	0
Cloth of grain, the piece (*pannus*)	2	0
,, half grain	1	6
,, without grain	1	0

Wine, the tun (*tonel*[1]), 1*s.* with a primaeval 4*d.*, making 1*s.* 4*d.* in all.
All other goods 3*d.* on the £1 value.

Under this tariff aliens would pay 10*s.* on the sack of wool and 20*s.* on the last of leather. It will be remembered that the *Parva Custuma* had been obtained by Edward I

[1] The *tonel* was two pipes of 100 gallons each.

from an assembly of foreign merchants in 1303; that it had been suspended for a time under Edward II as illegal; but reimposed with the consent of Parliament in 1322. At the accession of Edward III it was exacted without a question as hereditary revenue. But the Government were not content with that amount of duty, and they immediately obtained from the merchants a 'subsidy' of 6*s.* 8*d.* both on the sack and the last of leather, from natives and aliens, for the war against the Scots, i.e. the Stanhope Park campaign, the duty only to be levied till Christmas. This concession was made in return for relief from Staple regulations, introduced by Edward I, and continued by his son, under which the merchants were obliged to carry their wool to Staple towns at inconvenient distances from the sea.[1]

In 1332 the *Parva Custuma* was formally legalized, to please the Commons; but at the same time, and in return, an Ordinance was issued, with the consent of the Magnates, continuing the extra 6*s.* 8*d.* on the sack (which probably had never been dropped), and raising the 'subsidy' on the last of leather to 20*s.* These impositions were denounced as illegal, but only to be superseded on the 14th May 1333 by a 'grant', again from the merchants, raising the 'subsidy' on the sack to 10*s.* with the last still at 20*s.* This was followed in June by a further concession of 12*d.* on the £1 value of avoirdupois from aliens, making 1*s.* 3*d.* with the *Parva.* Under these arrangements the total charge on natives for wool and leather would be 16*s.* 8*d.* and 33*s.* 4*d.* respectively, while foreigners, being liable to the *Parva Custuma* in addition to the *Antiqua Custuma*, would have 20*s.* and 40*s.* to pay. The new 'subsidy' of 12*d.* on general merchandise was the beginning of the dues later known as Tunnage and Poundage, and was granted by the merchants and accepted by the Crown as a substitute for the old *Recta Prisa*, or right of taking one or two tuns of wine from each foreign vessel according to its burden. To go on with the duties on wool and leather, in 1336 we seem to hear in

Tunnage and Poundage.

[1] Custom's Accounts.

the Collectors' accounts of rates of 40*s.* and 80*s.*; but, without doubt, on the 12th November 1337 the King obtained from some assembly or other grants of 40*s.* the sack and 80*s.* the last from natives, with 60*s.* and 120*s.* from aliens, 'for the expedition of his business', monstrous rates, but as the King had just seized the 30,000 sacks of wool, there would be little for either natives or foreigners to export. In 1340 we have a seeming reduction to 33*s.* 4*d.* and 66*s.* 8*d.*, evidently representing 'subsidies' that with the *Antiqua* would make 40*s.* and 80*s.*[1] In July 1346 the Magnates at La Hogue vouchsafed a further grant of 2*s.* on the sack and 6*d.* on the £1 value of general merchandise, in addition to all existing duties, but only for one year. Parliament protested, of course, but in 1347 we have the extra 2*s.* on the sack and 6*d.* on the £1 avoirdupois, with a further 1*s.* on wine, raising the total duty on the *tonel*, as we are expressly told, to the sum of 3*s.* 4*d.*, and at that rate the duty on wine appears to have remained pretty well throughout the rest of the reign.[2] In 1348 we again hear of a duty on wool of 40*s.*, with a protest by the Commons against any further grants by the merchants; but in 1349 we have again an extra 2*s.* on the sack. On the 6th April 1350 we hear of a grant *per Consilium*, i.e. the Privy Council, of an extra subsidy of 20*s.* on the sack, in addition to the existing 'subsidy' of 40*s.*, thus making 60*s.* on the sack and presumably 120*s.* on the last.[3] With respect to all these taxes it may be said that they had either been levied without any proper Parliamentary sanction, or kept on after the term of the grant had expired. At last in 1351 the Commons, tired of protesting and then ultimately giving in, and, perhaps, thinking that if they granted the duties they might eventually get substantial control of them, agreed to dues of 40*s.* on wool and 80*s.* on the last, for two years.[4] These sums must be taken as including the *Antiqua Custuma*. From aliens the rates would be 43*s.* 4*d.* and 86*s.* 8*d.* In 1353 the duty

[1] Customs' Accounts.
[2] Id.
[3] So Originalia Roll.
[4] Rot. Parlt. II. 229.

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was renewed by a quasi-Parliament for three years, and for six years in 1355. In 1362 the surtaxes were granted at the reduced rates of 20*s.* and 40*s.*, but subject always to the *Antiqua* and the *Parva*. In 1368 the subsidies were raised to 38*s.* 6*d.* and 80*s.* with a further enhancement in 1369 to 43*s.* 4*d.* and 86*s.* 8*d.*, making with the *Antiqua* 50*s.* and 100*s.* from natives, and with the *Parva* 53*s.* 4*d.* and 106*s.* 8*d.* from aliens. These crushing imposts, granted for three years only in the first instance, were maintained to the end of the reign.[1] The extra taxes on wine and merchandise remained at 2*s.* and 6*d.* respectively, making 3*s.* 4*d.* and 9*d.* in all, as one of the last entries on the Rolls gives us "*Vi den. de Li. et ii sol de dolio ultra parvam custumam*". So far we have seen that wine could be taxed under three heads: (*a*) the primordial duty of 4*d.*, doubtless of pre-Norman date; (*b*) the *Parva Custuma* of 1*s.* taken from aliens only; (*c*) the 'subsidy' or Tunnage of 1*s.* accepted in lieu of the *Recta Prisa*, and exacted from aliens only. But the Customs' Accounts disclose yet a further petty item of revenue from wine, under the head of Butlerage or the returns of the *Pincerna Regis* or Chief Butler. This was simply the surviving *Recta Prisa*, still taken from natives not being Freemen of the City of London or of the Cinque Ports, who enjoyed special exemption, natives in general not being covered by the composition under which aliens paid Tunnage as a commutation for Prisage.[2] It will be seen that on our Table the wine accounts disappear in the forty-seventh year (1373). The reason is that all the duties on wine had then been placed under the charge of the *Pincerna Regis*,[3] whose accounts we have not come across.

With respect to our heading of "Cloth", that does not give the returns of the duty on foreign cloth, but that of a tax in the nature of an excise, on home-made goods, to

[1] See Rot. Parlt. III. 37.

[2] See the statement of Thomas Chaucer, Chief Butler. Rot. Parlt. III. 646.

[3] So H. Hall, Customs, I. 72. The wine accounts in our Table are catalogued at the Record Office as "Butlerage." The accounts themselves are headed *Parva Custuma*.

balance the duty on raw wool. It would seem that as early as the time of Henry III provisions were in force for the "aulnage",[1] i. e. the measurement of pieces of cloth to see that they conformed to the required standards in length and breadth.[2] A petition presented to Parliament in 1328 by the worsted workers of Norfolk complained that the Government had been charging a penny a cloth for sealing them.[3] In 1347 we hear of a duty of 1*s.* 2*d.* on cloth, and 1*d.* on worsteds;[4] but in 1353 the duty was reduced to 4*d.* on cloth without grain, or ray-cloth; 5*d.* on half grain, and 6*d.* on whole grain.

Apart from the export duties on wool the rates were very moderate. We are told that the *tonel* of best Gascon or Spanish wine, containing 200 gallons, was worth £5. A tax of 3*s.* 4*d.* on this would be something between two and three per cent.; the 9*d.* on general merchandise would come to much the same *ad valorem*. The details of these successive grants of duties are interesting in themselves as part and parcel of the history of the Customs, but specially so on account of the constitutional struggles carried on in connexion therewith. Most satisfactory is it to add that the struggle had been fought out, and that we shall have no more seizures of wool or 'grants' of duties by unauthorized assemblies.

For the actual returns, our Table II, compiled from the Enrolled Accounts of the several collectors, shows totals running say from the £9,400 of 1328 (the £6,997 5*s.* 8¼*d.* of 1336 being imperfect) to the £113,081 of the year 1354. Taken all together, from the beginning to the end of the reign, we get an average of £48,000 in round numbers. But if we take the returns for the latter half of the reign from 1351 onwards by themselves, the yearly average rises to £68,000. But the Customs, like the total Revenue, show startling fluctuations, not easily to be accounted for. For instance we have seen that in the year 1344 a company of English merchants was found who thought it worth their

[1] From the French aulne, aune, English ell = yard.
[2] Rot. Parlt. II. 230, 231. [3] Id. 28. [4] Id. 168.

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while to give the King £50,000 for a year's yield of the duties. But if the reader turns to our Table he will see that though one of the previous years reached nearly £70,000, the others vary from £6,000 to £32,000 a year. A huge deficiency in the accounts of the collectors of Customs from which our figures are taken seems implied. We can only suggest mortgages of the Customs to merchants as security for loans, with the right, perhaps, of appointing private collectors, whose accounts would not be enrolled in the ordinary series. The reign was one of war, a time unfavourable to commerce, but we may point out that the three best years, those when the Customs rose above £100,000, were years of peace. Beyond that fact we can point to nothing to account for the inflation of the years 1354, 1362 and 1365.

The increased returns from cloth in the later years of the reign show the development of the home manufacture, partly through the operation of the heavy export duties on wool, partly through the introduction of more skilful weavers from abroad.

IV. Besides the ordinary sources of income Edward had the benefit of considerable windfalls or extraordinary receipts, of which we cannot pretend to give a full account. In 1339 the Duke of Brabant paid £50,000 to secure the marriage of his daughter Margaret to one of the King's sons;[1] then there were the 100,000 florins, (£33,333 6*s.* 8*d.*), for the wedding of Violante Visconti to Lionel. From David II of Scotland, taken prisoner in 1346 at Neville's Cross, the King drew between 1358 and 1360 £20,000; under a fresh agreement made in 1365 he drew between the years 1366 and 1369 the sum of £16,000, and again between 1370 and 1376 £16,666 13*s.* 4*d.*, in all £52,666 13*s.* 4*d.*

From the Duke of Burgundy he obtained the enormous sum of 200,000 *moutons d'or* (£33,333 6*s.* 8*d.*), simply as protection money.

[1] Foed. II. 1083. No such marriage ever took place.

Of King John's ransom fixed at 3,000,000 *écus* (£500,000), only the first million with 198,200 crowns on account of the second million, or £199,700 sterling in all, seems to have been paid.[1]

From the minor Poitiers captives whom Edward bought from his son considerable sums must have been received; we have 10,000 *écus* (£1,666 13*s.* 4*d.*) from the Duke of Bourbon on account of 40,000 *écus* due.[2] We may safely allow £10,000 under this head. But the entry on our Issue Roll (Table V) of £4,610 paid by the King for Hugh de Chatillon, apparently on speculation, suggests that we might allow a much larger figure. From his unfortunate protégé Duke John of Brittany the King extorted £20,000 under various pretences.[3] We have then—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Duke of Brabant	50,000	0	0
Violante Visconti	33,333	6	8
Scots: ransom	52,666	13	4
Burgundy's ransom	33,333	6	8
King John's ransom	199,700	0	0
Minor captives' ransom	10,000	0	0
Brittany, damages	20,000	0	0
	£399,033	6	8

Spread over the twenty-eight years between 1339 and 1367, when this money came in, it would represent an average addition of about £14,280 to the revenues of the central years. Putting our several heads of income together we stand thus—

	£
Old Crown Revenues	30,000
Grants from Parliament and Convocation	30,600
Customs	48,000
Windfalls, say	14,280
	£122,280

Thus £122,280 seems all the legitimate annual revenue that we have been able to make out for the fullest years of

[1] See the last receipt, November 1367; Foed. III. 836. [2] Foed. 837. [3] Id.

the reign, leaving a balance of £17,720 to be accounted for, to make up the average of £140,000 apparent on the Rolls. We can only suggest borrowed money, or unsuspected sources of income that might be discovered by further analyses of the Rolls. As for loans we have added these up for twenty-seven years, taken from all parts of the reign, and the average comes to £8,800 a year, two of the years showing no borrowing at all. Money was also sometimes borrowed for the Wardrobe, and that would help to make up the difference. During the first half of the reign the borrowings were chiefly from Italian bankers and merchants, and here we must notice the shameful unfairness of dealing indulged in as between different creditors. The sums due to the Bardi are always marked on the margin as ultimately paid or satisfied, in some manner; of the moneys advanced by the Pucci and Peruzzi not a penny is ever so marked. The Bardi, however, were the first to fail.[1] If we accept the King's statement to Parliament in 1340 that he owed £300,000, that would make up our estimated amount for the previous years, but no such amount can be gathered from the Rolls, and entries on the Rolls are what we want. After the bankruptcy of the Italians the King had for the most part to prey on his subjects, while of the sums entered on the Rolls as *mutua* (loans), a large proportion are marked as *mutuum per tallias cancellatas*, representing not money borrowed, but debts left owing. A creditor who had obtained tallies in his favour on some branch of the revenue is induced to forgo his claim for a time. The tallies in his favour are cancelled, and the money due to him is entered as a loan from him to be repaid in course of time.

To take a definite instance worked out by ourselves in connexion with the finances of later reigns. In the year 1440 a sum of £1,231 18*s.* 9*d.* was due to John Neville for wages of the garrison of Carlisle. He obtained an order for payment, and on the 20th February in that year (7 Henry V) fourteen sums, from the Customs of Boston

[1] January 1345; Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 416, from Villani.

and Hull, making up the £1,231 18*s.* 9*d.*, are entered on the Issue Roll as paid to Neville. But four of the tallies making £400 are cancelled, and an entry is interpolated of "*mutuum*" from Neville "*per tallias cancellatas*". He had in fact only received £831 18*s.* 9*d.*, the balance being credited to him as a loan to the King. In like manner on the corresponding Receipt Roll we have the tallies making up the £1,231 18*s.* 9*d.* entered as drawn on the Customs, while in the margin they are marked "pro J. Neville". But there too the tallies for the £400 are cancelled and re-entered as a *mutuum* from Neville. On the 12th May 1343 Neville appears on the Rolls as receiving his £400—£20 in cash and £380 by tallies on the Customs. But four of these, making £180, are struck out, and re-entered as a *mutuum per tall. canc.* Under the 21st May 1445 payment in full is again entered, but again Neville is only allowed to keep £80, £100 being carried on as a fresh loan, to be finally paid off 4th December 1427, and there at last the transaction ended; but by this system of book-keeping one sum of £1,231 18*s.* 9*d.* paid in all to Neville does duty for £1,911 18*s.* 9*d.* on the Rolls of Henry V and Henry VI.[1]

With regard to the ransoms of the Poitiers captives, it appears that they were regarded as the King's *peculium*, won "with his sword and with his bow"; and were, accordingly, in the first instance paid into his Chamber or Privy Purse, the King apparently handing over to the Treasury any money that he did not want, or that was absolutely required for the public service. He took a keen personal interest in his money matters, and we hear of his paying in and drawing out bags of money with his own Royal hands.[2]

From the approximate figures of our Table IV it will be seen that in the forty-fourth year of the reign, 1369–1370, the Household expenditure came to £17,105 17*s.* 11*d.* with £8,566 5*s.* 0*d.* for the King's Chamber or Privy Purse—in

[1] Antiquary, VIII. 97.

[2] Pell Rolls.

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all £25,672 2*s.* 11*d.*; four times as much as the sum spent on the whole Civil Service. In this connexion we note that the Treasurer's salary amounted to £66 13*s.* 4*d.*, with an extra £300 as a bonus. Knyvett, Chief Justice of King's Bench, had £40; the Chief Baron £26 13*s.* 4*d.*, with £20 for Assize duty, &c. The Sundries include the price paid for the purchase of land bought for the King's use at Greenwich and Bermondsey. The money spent on buildings was laid out at Westminster, Eltham, Sheen, Queenborough, Leeds, and Rochester.

Population.

From the returns of the poll-tax of 1377 we get a definite basis for an estimate of the population of England. The impost is given as paid by 1,376,442 (1,356,428?) lay folk over fourteen years of age, and by 29,161 beneficed and unbeneficed clergy. The Palatinates of Chester and Durham are not included, but even allowing for that omission the total population of England and Wales can hardly have exceeded 3,000,000. This is about the estimate that has been formed of the population of England at the time of the Conquest. If this view be correct, the Plagues would have neutralized all the growth caused by three centuries of orderly government. The population before the First Plague has been estimated at five millions.[1] For the population of London an estimate might be based on the size of Carcassonne, alleged in 1355 to be larger than London 'within the walls'. At the present day Carcassonne has a population of 23,000 inhabitants.[2] Has it increased much since 1355?

Down to the year 1300 the silver penny, the standard coin, contained 22·5 grains Troy, or 24 grains Tower, of silver, 240 pennies making both a lb. of silver and the £1 of account. In that year the penny suffered its first depreciation at the hands of Edward I, being reduced to 22 grains Troy, so that 243 pennies were struck from the lb. of silver. At that point the penny remained till the

[1] Seebohm, Fortnightly Review, II. 150.
[2] See above, I. 396.

year 1344, when the standard was lowered, 266 pennies being struck from the lb. of silver; while in 1346 a further reduction of a quarter of a grain in the penny was made, 270 pence going to the lb., the whole a depreciation of rather more than 10 per cent.[1] A recoinage was always a source of profit to the King. For his seignorage out of each lb. of silver brought to the Mint he got sixpence, the Master for all expenses got eightpence, and the merchant the remainder.

Since the abortive issue of Henry III in 1257 no gold currency had been struck in England till the years 1343 and 1344, when Edward issued coins to pass for 6*s.*, 3*s.* and 1*s.* 6*d.* respectively. But the new currency did not take, and was recalled, and new pieces issued, to be worth 6*s.* 8*d.*, 3*s.* 4*d.* and 1*s.* 8*d.* respectively, and to be known as nobles, maille (halfpenny) nobles and ferling-nobles, but not to be legal tender for more than twenty shillings. These nobles were copied from the Florence florins, but were distinguished from all existing coins "by the new and singular type of a ship", assumed possibly in commemoration of the victory of Sluys.[2] The new coinage was intended for international transactions and the encouragement of trade.

From the Customs and the ever-changing Staple regulations a pretty complete list of the articles of English exportation in the fourteenth century can be gathered.

Staples.

For the ten years from 1353 to 1363 the Staple or rather Staples had been kept at home. On the 1st March in the latter year one general Staple was again set up at Calais.[3] The Commons grumbled, but the Staple was kept at Calais till after the renewal of the war in 1369, when by general consent it was brought home,[4] to be sent back again when there seemed to be some prospect of peace in 1373.[5] The list of Staple commodities included wool, leather, lead, tin, "worsted", cloth, cheese, butter, feathers, woad (*gaula*),

[1] See Ruding, Annals of Mint, I. 201, 222; Rogers, Prices, I. 174.
[2] Ruding, sup. 217, 219.
[3] Foed. II. 690.
[4] Rot. Parlt. II. 301.
[5] Id. 318; A. Jenckes, Staples.

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honey, furs (*felpariæ*), and tallow (*cepum*). It would also seem that Irish frieze (frysseware) and Irish wool were imported to a considerable extent from the sister Isle.[1]

By Philippa of Hainault (who died 15th August 1369)[2] Edward had issue:

(1) Edward of Woodstock, b. 15th June 1330;[3] d. 8th June 1376;[4] m. 10th October 1361 Joan of Kent[5] (she d. 8th July 1385[6]) and by her had Edward of Angoulême, b. 27th January 1365,[7] d. 1371;[8] RICHARD OF BORDEAUX, b. 6th January 1367.[9]

(2) Isabelle of Woodstock, b. 16th June 1332; m. Enguerrand de Coucy 27th July 1365; d. 1379,[10] leaving a daughter, Philippa, afterwards m. to Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, *q.v.*

(3) Joan of the Tower, b. 1333; d. 2nd September 1348.[11]

(4) William of Hatfield, b. 1336;[12] d. 1348–1349.[13]

(5) Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarence, b. 29th November 1338;[14] d. 17th October 1368; m. first, Elisabeth de Burgh (15th August 1342); secondly, Violante Visconti (28th April 1368). By Elisabeth he had Philippa, m. to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March 1359, *semble* 19 May.[15]

(6) John of Gand, Ghent or Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, b. March 1340; d. 3rd February 1399;[16] m. first, Blanche of Lancaster (19th May 1359),[17] secondly the Infanta

[1] Rot. Parlt. II. 372.
[2] Barnes, and above, I. 493.
[3] Murimuth, 64; and above, I. 206.
[4] Chron. Angl. 88, &c.
[5] Foed. III. 626.
[6] Walsingham; Sandford, 217.
[7] Riley, Memorials of London, 325.
[8] See above, p. 10.
[9] See above, I. 471.
[10] Green, Princesses, III. 164, 202, 221.
[11] Id. 229, 257.
[12] Barnes, 107; Sandford, 177.
[13] Devon, Issues, 153; Mrs. Green gives another son, William of Windsor, b. and d. 1334–5, but I cannot verify her reference; and the pedigree in Eulog. Hist. III. 332, gives only one William, and that one as born about this period; See also Wright, Pol. Poems, I. 220.
[14] Walsingham, I. 223.
[15] See above; and Sandford, 222; Devon, Issues, 170; Doyle; Complete Peerage.
[16] Murimuth, Cont. 93; Chron. Angl. 11; Froissart, I. 108.
[17] Murimuth, Cont. 193.

Costanza of Spain (September 1371);[1] thirdly, Katherine Swynford (January 1396).[2] For issue see below.

(7) Edmund of Langley, Earl of Cambridge, and afterwards Duke of York; b. 5th June 1342;[3] d. 1st August 1402;[4] m. first, the Infanta Isabel of Spain (1371);[5] secondly, Joan of Holland, by whom he had Edward, Earl of Rutland and Duke of Albemarle and York, killed at Agincourt 25th October 1415, *s. p.*; Richard, Earl of Cambridge, executed August 1415, *q. v.*; and Constance, m. Thomas le Despenser, Earl of Gloucester, and left issue.[6]

(8) Blanche of the Tower, b. and d. 1343.[7]

(9) Mary of Waltham, b. 10 October 1344;[8] m. John IV Duke of Brittany 1361; d. 1362, leaving issue.[9]

(10) Margaret of Windsor, b. 30 July 1346;[10] m. John of Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, 19 May 1359;[11] d. 1361 *s. p.*[12]

(11) William of Windsor, b. 1348;[13] d. 1348–1349.[14]

(12) Thomas of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, afterwards Duke of Gloucester; b. 7 January 1355;[15] put to death September 1397.[16]

By Edmund Mortimer, 3rd Earl of March, Philippa of Clarence had (1) Roger, 4th Earl of March. (2) Edmund Mortimer. (3) John Mortimer. (4) Elizabeth Mortimer. (5) Philippa Mortimer.[17]

By Blanche of Lancaster John of Gaunt had (1) Philippa, b. 1360; m. John I King of Portugal 1387, and d. 1415.[18]

[1] Froissart, I. 633, 634; see above, 19. [2] Trokelowe, 188.
[3] Murimuth, Cont. 174; cf. Walsingham, I. 253.
[4] Sandford, 377. [5] Froissart, I. 633; see above, 19.
[6] Sandford, 140, 367.
[7] Eulogium, III. 332; Wright, Pol. Poems, I. 220; Mrs. Green gives 1342 as the year of Blanche's birth and death, but 1342 appears to have been the year of Edmund's birth. [8] Murimuth, Cont. 174; Green, Princesses, III. 264.
[9] Id. 287; Devon, Issues, 175. [10] Walsingham, I. 270.
[11] Devon, Issues, 170, comparing Murimuth, Cont. 193; Green, III. 298; Barnes. [12] Green, 287, 299.
[13] Knighton, 2597; Eulogium, 332; Archaeologia, XXXI. 1.
[14] Devon, Issues, 153.
[15] Murimuth, Cont. 186; cf. Foed. III. 305. [16] See below.
[17] See their issue, Sandford, 224.
[18] For Philippa's issue see the Table, "John of Gaunt," 309: and Sandford, 256.

(2) Elizabeth, m. first John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke; secondly John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon and Duke of Exeter; thirdly John Cornwal, d. 1425–1426.[1] (3) HENRY OF BOLINGBROKE (Henry IV), b. May 1366.[2]

By Costanza of Castile John had Katherine, b. 1372, married to Henry III King of Castile, d. 1418 leaving issue.[3]

By Katherine Swynford (before marriage) John had (1) John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, (2) Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, (3) Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, (4) Joan Beaufort, m. first to Robert Lord Ferrers, and secondly to Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland.[4]

[1] Id., and "John of Gaunt", 94.

[2] Devon, Issues, 191; Sandford, 265, and generally the Table, "John of Gaunt", 94.

[3] Sandford, and "John of Gaunt", Table, p. 300.

[4] Id. Table, 389.

TABLE II

Customs of Edward III

Regnal Year.	A.D.	Exchequer, L.T.R. Enrolled Accounts. — General Customs. £	s.	d.	Cloth. (Excise.) £	s.	d.	Exch. K.R. Accounts. — Wine. "Nova Custuma Vinorum." £	s.	d.	Totals. £	s.	d.
1	1327	16,082	14	11¾		—			—		16,082	14	11¾
2	1328	8,821	5	7	16	17	9	561	19	0	9,400	2	4
3	1329	12,616	3	4½	2	7	8	736	13	0	13,355	4	0¼
4	1330	11,867	6	1¼	9	8	9	606	14	0	12,483	8	10¼
5	1331	14,285	1	0¼	23	6	6	229	1	0	14,537	8	6½
6	1332	14,229	4	2¾	8	6	6		—		14,237	10	8¾
7	1333	23,945	8	9½	15	11	8	155	12	0	24,116	12	5½
8	1334	19,088	12	8¼	12	3	3	619	13	0	19,720	8	11¼
9	1335	12,598	7	5¼		—		390	19	0	12,989	6	5¼
10	1336	6,997	5	8¼		—			—		6,997	5	8¼
11	1337	12,211	15	9		—		214	12	0	12,426	7	9
12	1338	32,249	5	8¼		—			—		32,249	5	8¼
13	1339	69,868	10	1¼		—		59	13	0	69,928	3	1¼
14	1340	28,954	2	3		—			—		28,954	2	3
15	1341	23,121	8	9½		—		325	8	0	23,446	16	9½
16	1342	10,307	2	10¾		—		341	2	0	10,648	4	10¾
17	1343	11,111	0	7½		—		382	17	0	11,493	17	7½
18	1344	50,010	16	7¼		—			—		50,010	16	7¼
19	1345	50,004	1	10½		—		95	15	0	50,099	16	10½
20	1346	24,548	15	1½[1]		—		328	2	0	24,876	17	1½
21	1347	3,256	1	10½	226	19	0½	44	6	0	3,527	6	10¾
22	1348	819	16	4	285	14	10½	265	7	0	1,370	18	2½
23	1349	—			130	15	0½	46	18	0	—		
24	1350	2,912	11	0½	92	6	10	143	3	0	3,148	0	10½
25	1351	43,111	12	4½	56	14	11	171	7	0	43,339	14	3½
26	1352	54,115	2	6¼	91	19	4½	98	17	0	54,305	18	10¾
27	1353	42,962	1	0¾	121	19	4	264	12	0	43,348	12	4¾
28	1354	112,257	12	0½	584	14	6	238	19	0	113,081	5	6½
29	1355	85,204	5	2¾	459	12	8¼	182	19	0	85,846	16	11
30	1356	77,340	10	11¾	593	8	3¼	179	19	0	78,113	18	3
31	1357	95,623	18	2	1,037	12	10		—		96,661	11	0
32	1358	93,926	12	1	1,061	16	9¼	205	4	0	95,193	12	10¼
33	1359	65,159	12	0¾	610	0	0½	318	2	0	66,087	14	1½
34	1360	84,951	14	8¼	902	5	10½	180	18	0	86,034	18	6¾
35	1361	66,303	1	6¼	607	18	5	143	15	0	67,054	14	11½
36	1362	108,734	17	1½	741	4	6¾	285	12	0	109,761	13	8¼
37	1363	42,820	18	10¾	600	17	9½		—		43,421	16	8¼
38	1364	37,889	8	6¼	370	8	11¼	149	6	0	38,409	3	5½
39	1365	103,327	11	4¾	740	0	0	145	8	0	104,212	19	4¾
40	1366	47,916	14	5¼	690	16	8		—		48,607	11	1¼
41	1367	64,250	1	3½	800	16	1¼	115	1	0	65,165	18	4¾
42	1368	63,623	11	4	593	5	6½	117	16	0	64,334	12	10½
43	1369	63,795	1	1½	722	3	4¾		—		64,517	4	5¾
44	1370	48,430	5	4¼	514	4	10¾		—		48,944	10	3
45	1371	73,249	5	11½	578	17	8¼	82	3	0	73,910	6	7¾
46	1372	81,222	6	7	371	12	2¼	600	3	0	82,194	1	9¼
47	1373	70,487	19	6	97	10	11½		—		70,585	10	5½
48	1374	61,879	15	3½		—			—		61,879	15	3½
49	1375	72,023	15	3½		—			—		72,023	15	3½
50	1376	55,652	1	10½	164	3	3		—		55,816	5	1½
51	1377	21,539	5	11¼	47	16	11½		—		21,587	2	10⅞

[1] From the Pell Receipt Roll.

TABLE III

Analysis of Receipts of the Financial Year, 20 Edw. III. 1 October 1345—20 September 1346

(Year of Crécy campaign.)

From Pell Receipt Rolls, Easter and Michaelmas, 20 Edw. III.

	£	s.	d.
Old Crown revenues; county and burgh farms, quit rents; Forest receipts; wardships, marriages, escheats, &c., &c.	7,360	0	7
Fines	1,047	1	4
Vacant sees and abbeys	917	18	9
Customs	24,548	15	1½
Receipts of Hanaper Office in Chancery	764	18	3½
Mint and Exchange Offices at Tower	1,452	0	7½
Fifteenths and Tenths from laity	28,682	9	7
Tenths from clergy	20,229	1	3½
'Priories Alien'	4,181	18	2
Arrears of wool grants from 12th and 15th years	1,645	14	8
Sundries (mostly advances repaid, *prestita*, &c.)	9,693	14	9½
Loans:			
Ultimately repaid £42,485 2 6			
Not repaid 15,581 17 4			
	58,066	19	10
	£158,590	13	0½

TABLE IV

Analysis of Expenditure for the Financial Year, 44 Edw. III, 1 October 1369—22 September 1370.

	£	s.	d.
Household	17,105	17	11
Privy Purse (Chamber)	8,566	5	0
Civil Service	4,371	14	10
Buildings and works	2,373	13	11
Naval and military (including fortifications of Calais)	87,866	19	11½
Pensions and gifts	7,230	13	10
Loans repaid	12,249	4	10½
"Praestita," advances (to be repaid)	1,874	3	1
Queen Philippa's debts	1,385	11	1
Hugh de Chatillon, prisoner bought	4,610	0	0
Lions and leopards at the Tower	74	16	10
Sundries	1,552	11	10½
	£149,261	13	2½

RICHARD II "OF BORDEAUX"

RICHARD II "OF BORDEAUX"

Born 6th January 1367: began to reign 21st June 1377: deposed 30th September 1399.

CHAPTER VIII

A.D. 1377, 1378

Coronation.—The Regency.—Parliament.—Attack on Wycliffe.—Fruitless Expeditions to Brittany.—Case of Hawley and Shakell.—Parliament at Gloucester.

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Accession.

THE reign of Edward II had been held to begin on the day following the death of his predecessor. That of Richard II was made to begin at the death of Edward III, without any interval whatever, the hereditary view of the Royal succession having gained ground. No formal proceeding could be taken in hand on that day, but on the next, the 22nd June, Richard was brought to Sheen, and made to exercise his first official act by taking the Great Seal into his own hands, and then re-delivering it by the hands of John of Gaunt to Nicholas Bonde, as Keeper, the Chancellor, Adam of Houghton, Bishop of St. Davids, being abroad on business.[1] Orders were issued for the due custody of Calais, the truce with France being about to expire. Thomas of Woodstock, the King's youngest uncle, was designated Earl of Buckingham, and confirmed in the office of Constable that he held in right of his wife Eleanor Bohun.[2] On the previous evening, as already mentioned, the Londoners had sent a deputation to young Richard, assuring him that he was the only King that they could recognize,[3] a declaration that implied a possibility of doubt as to the succession. In return he now sent them a message assuring them of his goodwill, and offering to arbitrate

The Londoners.

[1] The Seal of Edward III was retained, only the King's name being altered. Foed. IV. 1; Foss, III. 319; IV. 9; Devon, Issues, 214.

[2] Foed., sup.

[3] Walsingham; Chron. Angl.

between them and the Duke of Lancaster. The citizens, of course, accepted the offer; but thought it incumbent on them to make certain reservations, and to append a protest that they could not admit that they owed any amends to the Duke. But John, who was aware that his power had fallen with his father's death, gladly closed with the proposal. On the 27th June a formal reconciliation was proclaimed at Westminster.[1] A like pacification was effected between the Duke and William of Wykeham, who received the fullest 'pardon'; while, with even greater promptitude, Peter de la Mare was set at liberty. The people raised their voices to bless the King whose advisers sympathized with the men of the Good Parliament.[2] Thus the young reign seemed to be started on a hopeful path, and so, but for wilful wrongheadedness and bad faith in high quarters, it might have fared on to the end.

Funeral of Edward.

The funeral of the late King was the next thing to be taken in hand. On the 5th July the remains were borne to their resting-place in Westminster Abbey. Four-and-twenty knights, by relays, supported the open bier on which the Royal corpse was laid.[3] The three surviving sons of the deceased, John, Edmund and Thomas, his son-in-law the Duke of Brittany, and his great-grandson Edmund, Earl of March, were the chief mourners.[4]

But the chroniclers have little to tell of the obsequies. All thoughts were engrossed with the coming coronation. As early as the 26th June the 16th July had been fixed as the day. The taste for pomp and pageant, so diligently fostered by Edward III, now found ample opportunity for indulgence. A week before the time the claims to fill posts of honour were taken into consideration. The petitions

[1] Walsingham, II. Appendix, 383; Chron. Angl. 148–150.

[2] Walsingham, I. 331. De la Mare was liberated on the 30th June; the Bishop pardoned 31st July; Stubbs; Pauli.

[3] "Sur un lit á viaire decouvert." Mrs. Green suggests that not the real face but a wax mask was exposed; Princesses, III. 217.

[4] Letters from Northern Registers, 419; Knighton, 2609; Walsingham, II. 385; Froissart, I. 709.

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were referred to a Committee of Claims consisting of judges sitting under the presidency of John of Gaunt as Lord High Steward. His right to hold that office as Earl of Leicester had been previously established before the King in person. Nineteen cases were heard and determined involving delicate questions of pedigree, tenure, prerogative and policy.[1]

The State Ride.

The proceedings opened with the usual state ride from the Tower to Westminster on the eve of the coronation day. The whole city was draped with cloth of gold and silver and flags of silk. A detailed account of the proceedings tells us that, doubtless in pursuance of time-honoured privilege of mysterious origin, the men of Bayeux had the post of honour at the head of the procession.[2] The men of one of the City Wards in their liveries followed; then a corps of German mercenaries; then another City Ward; then the Gascons; and then the rest of the Londoners, with the Earls, Barons and Knights of the Kingdom, following in due order. All were robed in white in honour of the child King,[3] described for his youthful good looks as a very 'second Absalom'.[4] The Great Conduit, at the east end of Cheapside, near its junction with the Poultry, ran with wine as usual, during the three hours of the procession.[5] But we also hear of a castle, with four turrets and a central dome,[6] presumably set up on the Little Conduit further west, opposite Foster Lane, because we are told that it also poured forth wine. In each turret was posted a girl of the King's own age; as he drew near they blew golden leaflets at him, and showered florins (of imitation gold!) under his charger's feet; then descending from their posts they proffered wine in a golden cup. A gilded angel surmounted

[1] See Foed. IV. 5–10.

[2] "Cives Baiocenses." For the importance of Bayeux as the first acquisition of the young Norman Duchy, see Freeman, N. C., I. 199. Could the privilege of the men of Bayeux date from A.D. 924?

[3] Chron. Angl. 153.

[4] Adam of Usk, 1 (E. Maunde Thompson, 1876). For Richard's high complexion see his portrait in Westminster Abbey, perhaps our oldest historical portrait.

[5] "Aquaeductus;" Walsingham, II. 331. For the Conduits see Wheatley and Cunningham, "London," I. 373.

[6] "Ad modum tholi."

the dome; as the King moved past the figure leaned forward and extended a crown.[1] Lancaster and Percy preceded the King to clear the way, but it was remarked that, mindful of recent events, they were careful to conciliate the people by courteous and forbearing conduct. Arrived at Westminster Hall Richard partook of a cup of wine at the high table, and then retired to his apartments. A ceremonial bath after supper, analogous to the bath before Knighthood, filled up the incidents of the day.[2]

Coronations and other great functions used to be held preferentially on Sundays; but for Richard's coronation the day selected, the 16th of July, fell on a Thursday. Doubtless the 16th had been chosen as an appropriate day, being the Eve of the Feast of St. Kenelm, the boy-King. From the marble throne or King's Bench at the upper end of the Hall[3] Richard was led to the Abbey with the usual pomp, the clergy coming in procession from the Abbey to receive him. John of Gaunt carried the principal sword "Curtana": the Earl of March, as proxy for the infant John, Earl of Pembroke, carried the second sword; and the Earl of Warwick, as of ancient right, the third sword. Edmund of Langley and Thomas of Woodstock carried the orb[4] and sceptre. The Bishop of Worcester as Treasurer carried the Paten; and the Bishop of St. Davids as Chancellor carried the Chalice, said to be 'of great price'. Next came the King; and after him the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops of London and Winchester.[5] York as usual had arranged to be absent.[6]

Over the King's head the 'barons' of the Cinque Ports, as of ancient right, carried a blue silken canopy borne on

[1] Walsingham, sup.

[2] Foed. IV. 9; Walsingham, sup.

[3] Maskell, Monumenta Ritualia, III. 48. For story of the boy-King Cenelm see "Foundations of England", I. 222.

[4] The official record in Foedera speaks of two sceptres, "virgas," but see the more exact description, Chron. Angl. 159: also T. Walsingham, "sceptrum de rotundo globo aureo;" this had a cross on it: the sceptre or wand had a dove on the point.

[5] Foed. sup.; compare the ancient formulary, evidently from the records at Lambeth and Westminster, given Ann. Trokelowe, p. 293.

[6] Northern Registers, 412.

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silver poles ;[1] beneath his feet was laid a continuous carpet of striped "worsted"; an observance suggested by the custom which required the uncrowned King to proceed to the Abbey in his stocking soles, without boots or shoes.[2]

On entering the church the King was led to the high altar, where he knelt in prayer, the Archbishop saying the special 'orison' "*Deus humilium visitator*". The King was then led to his throne, which was placed on a raised platform, and, apparently, in the choir.[3] Therewith was sung the antiphon "*Firmetur manus tua*".

The Archbishop then delivered a sermon on the mutual duties of King and people, as an introduction to the business of the day.

According to the old formularies the next thing ought to have been an appeal to the people for their acceptance of the new King; a clear survival from days when popular election was a reality. But elective theories of monarchy were not at all in favour in Richard's court circle; so, to suit their views, the ceremonial was modified, and the Archbishop began by administering the Coronation oath,[4] *afterwards* turning to the people, and asking them 'if they would have this man as their king and liege lord; and if they would promise to obey him as such'. It will be seen that the appeal to the people lost its meaning, by being made after the King had been sworn in, while the popular response was turned into a mere promise of allegiance, as at the present day.[5]

The hymn *Veni Creator* was then sung; after that the Litany was chaunted by the Bishops of London and Winchester.[6] During the Litany the King, who had been brought to the altar to take the oath, still remained kneeling.

[1] "Pannum purpureum de serico quadratum;" Foed. "Umbraculum sericum coloris aerii;" Chron. Angl. 157.

[2] "Caligis tantummodo calceatus;" Foed. "discalceatus; indutus tantum caligis;" Trokelowe, 292.

[3] "Ad pulpitum in loco eminentiore . . . in cathedra regali;" Foed.

[4] See Foed. sup. The formula was that used at the coronation of Edward II.

[5] The Continuator of Knighton, however, regarded the popular assent as an essential part of Richard's title. "Qui jure haereditario ac etiam voto communi successit," 2630.

[6] Chron. Angl. 156; Foed.

After the Litany the consecration service proper began, the King being placed on the steps of the throne.[1] Four orisons or collects were sung over him; namely "*Omnipotens Sempiterne Deus*"; "*Benedic Domine hunc Regem*"; "*Deus ineffabilis*"; and "*Deus Qui populis*". The King's upper garments were then removed by the Archbishop; his shirt torn open,[2] and the King duly "hallowed"; that is to say touched with chrism or holy oil on the hands, the chest, the shoulders, the elbows, and lastly the head, which was then wrapped up in a "chrismale" or linen coif. During the performance of these mystic rites a decent veil of cloth of gold was extended over the pair. The ceremonial robing ensued. The tunic of St. Edward, the dalmatic and stole, were invested; the sword girt on, the "armyl" and mantle appended, each with a proper preface. The crown was then blessed and solemnly placed on the Royal head, while the addition of spurs, ring, globe and sceptre completed the equipment of the King, who then received the final blessing and was reinstalled upon the throne. The *Te Deum* having been chaunted, the beautiful and impressive service was brought to an end by the celebration of the Coronation Mass, at which the King offered and communicated. During the celebration the chief barons did homage.[3] John Dymock armed *cap-à-pie* appeared at the Abbey door, as King's Champion, but was persuaded to adjourn his formal proffer of service till the banquet in the evening.[4]

The service concluded, the boy-King was carried back by his old tutor Simon Burley[5] to the Palace for refreshment

[1] "Ad gradum cathedrae."

[2] "Vestimenta discindens." The shirt was ready cut, and only fastened with silver links.

[3] The Bishop of Worcester read the Epistle, and the Bishop of Ely the Gospel; Chron. Angl. 157–161; Walsingham and Foedera, sup. The service is of Old English origin, and dates from the eighth century, as already pointed out in connexion with former reigns. For the service under Eadgar see Foundations, I. 319; and generally, Maskell, sup.

[4] The claim of the Fryvilles, allowed at the coronation of Edward II, had now been postponed to that of the Dymocks.

[5] For this incident see the contemporary writer Malvern, Higden, IX. 222. One of the King's consecrated slippers fell off as he was being carried and was lost; Urban VI sent a fresh pair.

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and a short interval of very necessary rest,[1] to be brought out again for the State Banquet in the Hall. Four earls were created and nine knights dubbed. Thomas of Woodstock was made Earl of Buckingham; Henry Percy became Earl of Northumberland; John Mowbray of Axholm Earl of Nottingham, and Guichard d'Angle, the King's former governor, Earl of Huntingdon. At Richard's side, holding the great Sword of State, stood a boy a few months older than himself, his future supplanter, Henry of Bolingbroke, styled by courtesy Earl of Derby. The crowd of spectators was such that the High Steward, Constable and Marshal had to ride up and down the Hall on horseback, to keep order and make passage-way for the serving-men. Outside in the Court (*in medio palatii*) a marble pillar was set up, surmounted by a large gilt eagle; from the four sides of the capital four sorts of wine were drawn; the very poorest were free to drink 'and no man forbade them'.[2]

On the day after the coronation a Grand Council was held to choose a standing Council 'to assist the Chancellor and Treasurer'. Twelve men were appointed; two bishops, two earls, two barons, two bannerets and four knights bachelors. "This Council was not exactly a Council of Regency: the King remained under his mother's care, and she, without any formal title acted as guardian and chief of the court." The Earl of March, as father of the Heir Presumptive, found a place on the Council, but the King's uncles were excluded. In other respects the list "bears evidence of a compromise": the bishops were Courtenay of London, the opponent of John of Gaunt, and Ralph Erghum of Salisbury,[3] his ally: the earls, March and Arundel, belonged to opposite parties; and so probably did Latimer and Cobham. The bannerets were Roger Beauchamp and Richard Stafford; the knights John Knyvett,

[1] "Paulisper quievit quia debilis fuerat præ labore."

[2] See the record in Foed. IV. 9; and the full and graphic account preserved by the Chron. Angl. 156–162 and Walsingham, I. 332–339, evidently the account of an eyewitness.

[3] Consecrated 9 December 1375; Reg. Sacr.

Ralph Ferrers, John Devereux and Hugh Segrave. "Latimer Beauchamp and Knyvett had been executors of the late King."[1] But the Duke found his position at Court too much altered to be comfortable; on being asked to surrender Hertford Castle he retired to Kenilworth. Percy at the same time resigned the Marshal's Staff: it was given to John FitzAlan of Arundel, the brother of the Earl.[2]

The Council had no easy task before them. The truce with France having expired on the 24th June, five days later the French crossed the Channel and burned Rye. The Isle of Wight was overrun and put to the ransom; Winchelsea was saved by the promptitude of the Abbot of Battle, but Hastings and Rottingdean were sacked, and the Prior of Lewes carried off. From June to September Jean de Vienne and Ferrand Sanchez, Admirals of France and Castile, ruled the Channel, finally entering the Thames and burning Gravesend.[3] The whole country was thrown into a state of alarm at the prospect of invasion.[4]

Again, in August a petty war broke out on the Border. Dunbar, the Scots Earl of March, surrounded the village of Roxburgh (still in English hands), by night, during a fair, and massacred all that fell into his hands, in revenge for the murder of an esquire of his retinue. Reprisals followed. Henry Percy, the new Earl of Northumberland, ravaged Roxburghshire and Berwickshire; while the Berwickshire laird John of Gordon made a dash across the Border, defeated John of Littleburn and carried off Thomas Musgrave.[5]

Across the Channel the Duke of Burgundy was threatening Calais; while another army under the Duke of Anjou

[1] Bp. Stubbs, II. 463; Foed. IV. 10; Walsingham, I. 339; Chron. Angl. 164. Erghum and Latimer were considered the Duke's agents.

[2] Walsingham, I. 339, 340; Chron. Angl. 163, 165; Foed. 36.

[3] Chron. Angl. 151, 166, 167; Armitage Smith, "John of Gaunt," 230.

[4] Foed. 3, 11, 17.

[5] Scotichr. II. 384; Chron. Angl. 165; Rot. Scot. II. 16; Wyntoun; Foed. 26. The Scottish ransom was also in arrear; at Midsummer they had only tendered a payment on account, claiming to set off seizure of goods belonging to the great Scottish financier, John Mercer of Perth; Exchcq. Rolls Scotland, II. xlii. 283. Mercer's fortune has come down to the hands of his present representative in the female line, the Marquis of Lansdowne.

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invaded Aquitaine. "The collapse of the military power of England seemed complete."

The Duke of Anjou carried all before him. Gallant Thomas Felton, the Seneschal, was defeated and taken prisoner at Eymet on the river Dropt.[1] Consequent on this reverse we hear, that, after three months' fighting, Bergerac, Sainte-Foy, Castillon, Sauveterre, Montségur, Saint-Macaire and Langon were wrested from the English. As all these places had been 'conquered' by the French a few years before, we gather that in the never-ending see-saw of Gascon politics they had in the meantime been recovered by the English, to be now again lost—for a time.[2]

Parliament.

On the 13th October a session of Parliament, the first of the reign, met at Westminster. The situation was gloomy all round. Money was urgently needed, if only for home defence, the proceeds of the poll-tax having proved disappointing, and it soon became apparent that the question would be whether the policy of the Good Parliament, or that of John of Gaunt's reactionary Parliament, would prevail. On the morrow business was opened in the Painted Chamber, in the presence of the young King, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Simon of Sudbury. In a tactless ponderous address he reminded the Commons that Richard was their King 'not by election or any such collateral title, but by right succession of inheritance, whereby they were the more bound perfectly to love, and humbly to obey him'. He deplored the ravaging of the south coast; assured them that the Government had never been in greater straits, and begged for counsel and advice.[3] To press the matter home another state sitting was held next day, in the King's presence, when Richard, Lord Scrope of Bolton, took up the piteous tale, which was rehearsed for the third time to the Commons in private, in the afternoon, when they had retired to the Chapter House. The Commons responded

[1] 1 September; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 352.

[2] Dordogne and Gironde; Grandes Chroniques, sup.; Vic et Vaissete, IV. 363, and Froissart, II. 3–10.

[3] Rot. Parlt. III. 3.

by asking that a committee of lords, with the King of Castile at their head, should be appointed to confer with them. Lancaster then rose and delivered a speech in which the years that have elapsed between his age and our own seem for a moment to disappear. In true Parliamentary style he protested against aspersions on his honour—insinuations of rank treason—cast on him by popular rumours; he challenged any man to substantiate the slightest charge against his loyalty or integrity. The speech was received with loud cheers from all sides, but the Commons took Peter de la Mare for their Speaker. Three petitions were then laid before the King and Lords: one for the remodelling of the Council of Regency: another for the nomination in Parliament of the persons to be entrusted with the charge of the King's person; and the third for some proper security that measures proposed in Parliament should not be altered or repealed without the consent of Parliament. The last request was freely granted. To the second the King was made to agree, with the old nullifying proviso that the Chancellor, Treasurer and Keeper of the Privy Seal should not be interfered with in the discharge of their duties.[1] Of course the control of the Great Seal was the whole matter at issue. To the first petition, which involved the question of Ministerial responsibility to Parliament, the Lords demurred, as trenching too much on the Royal prerogative; but they thought that those in attendance on the King's person should be strictly forbidden to take advantage of their position for their own enrichment, to the detriment of the Revenue, and they undertook that the expenses of the Household should be kept within bounds, and, if possible, defrayed out of the hereditary revenues of the Crown. Satisfied with these answers the Commons responded by the liberal grant of a double Subsidy, on the established assessment, with a renewal for three years of the Customs,[2] at about the highest rates ever obtained in the late reign. But it was stipulated that the proceeds both of these grants and of the

[1] "Busoignes que touchent leur offices."

[2] Rot. Parlt. III. 17.

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Tenths that the clergy were preparing to grant in Convocation, should be paid to special treasurers to be named by the King. This was agreed to, and William Walworth and John Philpot, both of London, merchants much employed as financial agents in the late reign, were appointed by the King.[1] Moreover the Council was remodelled by removing the Earl of Arundel, the Lords Latimer and Cobham, Roger Beauchamp, John Knyvett and Ralph Ferrers; and by substituting the Bishop of Carlisle (Thomas Appleby), the Earl of Stafford[2] and Henry le Scrope. This new Council of nine was to stand for a year, a new Council to be appointed at the end of that time.[3] But the King was also brought to agree, in answer to other petitions, that during his minority the Chancellor, Treasurer and other officers of state should be chosen by Parliament, and that no one who had been attainted during the late reign should be named of the Council.[4] This of course "was a clear victory for the Commons". Not content with that, however, they went on to demand that Alice Perrers should be brought to justice. On the 22nd and 23rd December she was arraigned before the Peers on a charge of having violated the ordinance of 1376 by subsequent interference with the course of justice in the case of Richard Lyons. She was found guilty and condemned to entire forfeiture.[5]

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 6, 7. The receipts for the ensuing term, 1 October 1377–9 April 1378, reached the unequalled sum of £165,335 0*s.* 3*d.*, with £46,498 0*s.* 1½*d.* in the following term, 26 April–27 September: thus making £211,833 0*s.* 4½*d.* for the financial year. Of this sum upwards of £130,000 was passed through the hands of Walworth and Philpot; Pell Issue and Receipt Rolls, Michaelmas and Easter (No. 2), 1 Rich. II. Of the £130,000 paid out by Walworth and Philpot the double lay Subsidy and the double clerical Tenth would furnish about £100,000; the balance must be put down to the wool duty.

[2] Hugh of Stafford, who succeeded his father, Ralph, in 1372; Doyle, &c.

[3] Rot. Parlt. sup.

[4] Rot. Parlt. 16. The tone of the Government was conciliatory throughout, and a general statute of fifteen sections was passed for securing the due administration of the law, &c.; 1 Rich. II, Statutes, II. 1. For a detailed account of the proceedings of the session, see M. Wallon's Richard II, I. 13, &c.

[5] Rot. Parlt. 12–14; Walsingham, I. 343. The evidence against Alice, as given in the Parliament Rolls, furnishes a lively picture of Edward III in his last days transacting business in bed, with Perrers sitting beside him; an inner circle of confidants "dedeinz les curtyns"; and an outer swarm of whispering intriguing courtiers moving in and out of the room.

The clergy showed themselves as liberal as the laity: Convocations of the two Provinces were summoned in November and December. Canterbury at once agreed to pay a double Tenth by the 1st March 1378: the Northern assembly, after some hesitation, agreed to give one Tenth by the 3rd May 1378, and another by instalments by the 25th March 1379.[1]

The Ministers had declared in Parliament that the King had already involved himself in debt to the amount of £15,000 for preparation of war.[2] The money had probably been expended on the equipment of a force which was placed under the command of the Earl of Buckingham and the Duke of Brittany.[3] Early in November they sailed to attack a Spanish fleet at Sluys. The Castilian fleet, which had done Charles V such good service at La Rochelle in 1372, had been brought round to co-operate with his navy in the Channel. On the night of the 11th November a violent storm came on, and the English fleet was driven home in utter discomfiture.[4] Ardres and Outherwick, two outposts of Calais, had been won by the French: the calamities of the autumn were hardly balanced by the sack of Boulogne by Hugh Calverley, captain of Calais.[5]

The year closed with a renewal of the attack upon Wycliffe, suspended since the 19th February. Nineteen 'Propositions or Conclusions', embodying the views which apparently were the subject of inquiry on that occasion,[6] had been transmitted to the Pope, and had received from him an emphatic condemnation.[7] All these 'heresies' were more or less directly or indirectly connected with Wycliffe's

[1] Wake, 307–310.

[2] Rot. Parlt. III. 7. On the 15th October orders were given for raising small home loans for a year; Foed. IV. 22. Before that, £5,000 had been borrowed from the City of London on a pledge of crown jewels and plate; Riley, Memorials, 411; repaid 19 March 1378, Foed. IV. 32.

[3] Foed. IV. 18, &c.

[4] Walsingham, I. 343; Vita Ricardi II "a Monacho Evesham." (ed. Hearne), p. 4.

[5] Walsingham, 344; Rot. Parlt. 10.

[6] Compare Murimuth, Cont. 222, and Chron. Angl. 115, with articles 8–11 and 14–16 in Walsingham.

[7] See the Papal Bulls of the 22nd May 1377; Walsingham, 346–356; Wilkins, Conc. III. 125.

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celebrated doctrine of Dominion. Broadly this might be described as the teaching of St. Paul, as given in the thirteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, applied to a feudal state of Society, and worked out with scholastic logic. *Dominium* or Authority in its highest sense belongs to God alone. He deals it out, in fief as it were, to men in their several stations and offices, on condition of obedience to His commandments. Mortal sin therefore breaks the feudal tie, and deprives men of all right to authority. This is the meaning of Wycliffe's expression that all dominion "is founded in grace".[1] In justice to him, however, it must be understood that he urged this theory as a purely ideal one, and that to meet the requirements of the existing world he admitted of a lesser degree of authority, 'Power,' which the wicked, by God's permission, might have. "And towards this power the duty of the Christian is clear. As God has permitted evil in the world of His creation, as Christ obeyed the devil in submitting to his temptations, so must the Christian submit to the wicked magistrate or bishop." In the words of Wycliffe's own paradox, 'God at times must obey the devil.'[2]

To this theory was attached a corollary subversive of all recognized views as to the relations of spiritual and temporal power. Supreme authority upon earth had not been delegated by God to any man. Granting that the Pope was God's Vicar upon earth in things spiritual—a point that Wycliffe was prepared to concede—the King was equally Christ's Vicar in things temporal, holding as directly of God, and enjoying as full and sacred an authority over things temporal, even over the temporal possessions of the Church, as the Pope had over things spiritual.[3]

Of the Conclusions now condemned by Gregory the first five dealt with the question of perpetual succession, and

[1] Shirley, Fasc. Ziz. lxiii. See the treatises, "De Dominio Civili", Wyclif Society, 1884; and "De Dominio Divino", Id. 1890; also English Works (F. D. Matthew), xxxii. 282.

[2] Fasc. Ziz. lxiv, "Deus debet obedire diabolo." This was one of the Wycliffite articles or alleged articles that we shall find condemned by the Council of London, 21 May 1382; Walsingham, II. 52; Fasc. Ziz. 278, 288. See below.

[3] Shirley, sup. lxv.

were doubtless singled out to alarm the laity, by showing that Wycliffe's teaching imperilled the rights of private property. But the most interesting utterances are those denying the Papal power to bind or to loose the souls of men;[1] asserting that a corrupt priesthood may lawfully be deprived of possessions 'habitually abused';[2] and maintaining that an erring Pontiff may lawfully be rebuked or arraigned by laymen.[3] The keynotes of the whole are to be found in the theses that 'no man can be excommunicated unless he has previously excommunicated himself'; and that 'Christ never authorized his disciples to levy temporal contributions by spiritual censures'.[4]

Not content with a mere general condemnation of Wycliffe's dogmas the Pope had addressed Bulls to the late King, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the University of Oxford, calling on them to arrest and examine John Wycliffe, Rector of Lutterworth.[5] Simon of Sudbury was understood to have little heart in the business; naturally, as the Government in the financial straits of the moment had been consulting Wycliffe as to the lawfulness of prohibiting the exportation of money, even of money demanded by the Pope, and demanded 'under pain of censure, and in virtue of obedience'.[6] But of course the reformer could only justify such a measure in self-defence. The death of Edward III and the inauguration of a new reign furnished excuses for delay, and so it was not till the 28th December that the Pope's mandate was transmitted to the authorities at Oxford.[7] The University now found itself in a great strait; to ignore the Pope's orders might involve the loss of privileges conferred by the Papacy; to comply with them

Wycliffe and Oxford.

[1] Articles 8–11 and 14, 15.

[2] Articles 6, 7, 17, 18.

[3] Article 19.

[4] See the Conclusions; Wilkins, Conc. III. 123; Walsingham, I. 353.

[5] 22 May 1377; Wilkins, Conc. 116; Walsingham, 346, &c.

[6] "Anno primo;" Fasc. Ziz. 258–271. Wycliffe read out an elaborate justification for withholding the money till the exhausted Privy Council begged him to stop. For a summary of his arguments in support of the proposals of the Government, see Trevelyan, sup. 82. On the 17th August the Papal collector obtained leave to transmit £4,000 to Italy; Foed. IV. 16.

[7] Wilkins, Conc. 123; Lewis, Wycliffe, 314.

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involved committing a grossly illegal act, namely the imprisonment of one of the King's subjects without his leave. A way out of the difficulty was found by Wycliffe's friends in a Congregation of Regents and non-Regents, the suggestion being that the Vice-Chancellor should subject Wycliffe to a form of imprisonment, by ordering him to confine himself to a certain 'Black Hall' (*aula nigra*). Moreover they laid the condemned 'Conclusions' before the Regents in Divinity, and obtained a report in favour of them, the Chancellor remarking that 'they were true, though they sounded badly to the ear'. To this Wycliffe promptly rejoined that truth might be kept back, but never condemned for sounding badly to some people's ears. 'That would be to confound Accident with Substance.'[1]

Wycliffe, however, after all found it desirable to present himself before the bishops at Lambeth. He put in a protest explaining and defending his Conclusions. A message was received from the Princess of Wales forbidding the bishops to proceed; while they were hesitating what course to pursue, 'shaken', says the chronicler, 'as reeds by the wind,' the London mob broke in and settled the question.[2]

Thus again was the reformer rescued from personal sentence. Not so his 'Conclusions' which were condemned, especially articles 18 and 19. He was forbidden to inculcate them either in lecture or sermon. Nothing daunted he called on his friends, clerical and lay, to join in resistance to the Pope.[3] Thus the period from the accession of Richard II to the October Parliament of 1378 may be considered the "high water mark" of Wycliffe's popularity at Oxford and with the nation.[4]

The military operations of the year, with vast expenditure,

[1] See the report, clearly derived from an original source, Eulog. III. 348. The Vice-Chancellor, however, was imprisoned for having affected to imprison a man; Foed. IV. 32; Eulog. sup.

[2] Chron. Angl. 183–191; Walsingham, I. 356–364. February–March 1378; before the death of Gregory, 27 March, Walsingham, sup. The Lambeth protest was also intended for the Pope; Lechler, Wiclif, I. 387.

[3] Fasc. Ziz. 481. This is the Protest, the date of which is uncertain.

[4] Trevelyan, sup. 84, 85.

proved utterly futile and disappointing. In fact the country was too much distracted by cross-cleavages in politics to be able to pursue a consistent policy, either of peace or war. The Princess of Wales and the Commons were jealous of John of Gaunt; but the Princess supported Wycliffe, who was in alliance with the Duke. The Londoners worshipped Wycliffe, while hating Lancaster; and the clergy detested both Wycliffe and the Duke. But John of Gaunt was again intriguing to get the control of affairs into his hands, and though his incapacity in every department had been abundantly proved, there was, for the time, no competitor strong enough to keep him out; the force of circumstances still made him the "central figure" on the English stage.[1] Meanwhile the attitude of the agricultural population, the "villeins", from being sulky and dogged, was becoming positively alarming. They were reported to be organizing associations, and even raising funds, for a combined effort to shake off the burden of 'customary' services.[2]

Efforts for peace.

On the 16th January the new Earl of Huntingdon, Guichard d'Angle, was commissioned to treat for peace and a matrimonial alliance between the young King and "Mademoiselle Marie", the daughter of Charles V; the negotiations to be held at Bruges, the two archbishops to mediate, as before; while the Duke of Burgundy would again represent his brother.[3] The negotiations apparently were opened in February,[4] but nothing more is heard of them; possibly because John of Gaunt had obtained leave to muster forces for an expedition to utilize the funds

[1] For Lancaster's estates, see the interesting chapter in Mr. Armitage Smith's "John of Gaunt", 196–229, and Appendix, 440. The Duke had a retinue, just the old *comitatus*, of "more than a hundred knights, bannerets, or bachelors, and as many esquires". According to the writer the esquires had a retaining fee of £10 a year, the barons had 501 marks a year; p. 228. The County of Lancaster had been created a Palatinate in his favour the year before. For his extraordinary income in the year 1394 see p. 447.

[2] See the alarmed complaint in Parliament; "Les villeyns . . . sunt coillees entre eux grantz sumez de deniers," &c. Rot. Parlt. III. 21, and Statutes, 1 Rich. II. c. 9.

[3] Foed. IV. 27, 28; Grandes Chroniques, VI. 417.

[4] Grandes Chroniques, sup.

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provided by the liberality of Parliament. The objective of the expedition for a time was not disclosed.[1] It should have been Bordeaux, where half the force that Lancaster was preparing to raise would have enabled John, Lord Neville of Raby, the newly appointed King's Lieutenant of Aquitaine,[2] to repair all the losses of the previous year. But it turned out that the Duke contemplated operations in Brittany, where in the present temper of the Bretons nothing could be accomplished. The Earl of Buckingham was sent on in advance, to take possession of Brest, the exiled Duke of Brittany having agreed to place his last stronghold in the hands of the English during the war.[3] Some Flemish and Spanish ships were intercepted in the course of the voyage, but the English success was marred by an ominous mutiny that broke out in the fleet.[4]

Futile war.

The first half of Lancaster's force had been mustered by the Earls of Arundel and Salisbury in February and March. The Duke himself began drawing pay for the second half on the 7th April; but he did not sail till late in June; meanwhile the men raised in the winter had spent their wages, and were living at free quarters in Hampshire; while John himself had been offending public taste by parading his connexion with Katherine Swynford, just as his father had paraded his with Alice Perrers.[5] Tired of waiting for

[1] Walsingham, I. 367. Upwards of £26,800 were paid in February and March for the wages of 1,350 men-at-arms and as many archers. The payments to the sailors began on the 4th February; Pell Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 1 Rich. II. Apparently 3,000 men-at-arms and as many archers were to be raised; Exchequer Accounts, $\frac{3}{35}$.

[2] June. See Foed. IV. 43; and for men for Aquitaine, p. 31. Neville was one of Lancaster's retinue.

[3] Brest was apparently the only place left to Jean le Conquérant, Auray having yielded to Olivier de Clisson, 15 August 1377; Lobineau, I. 414. Two big and two little "canons" were sent to Brest.

[4] Walsingham, 364, 365; Foed. 36. Huntingdon, however, was instructed to make amends to the Flemings; Id. 34, 46.

[5] Foed. 30, 39, 45; Murimuth, 233; Chron. Angl. 195. Katherine Roet, daughter of Paon Roet, Guienne King at Arms, a Hainaulter, had been attached in her youth to the household of Blanche of Lancaster, where she remained after her marriage to Hugh Swynford, a knight. After Blanche's death, Katherine became guardian or governess to her little girls, Philippa and Elizabeth. The *liaison* with John of Gaunt that sprang from the opportunities thus offered began apparently in 1371 or 1372. See Armitage Smith, "John of Gaunt," 94, and Appendix, 461, 463.

the Duke, Arundel and Salisbury put out to sea without him; and were defeated by the Spaniards, Peter Courtenay being taken prisoner.[1] Lancaster eventually sailed from Southampton without shipping any horses, that is to say without taking any baggage train, as if only naval operations were in contemplation. But Jean de Vienne had retired up the Seine, so the Duke landed in Brittany, without opposition, and proceeded to lay siege to St. Malo. Du Guesclin and de Clisson were promptly sent to watch his movements, but, faithful to orders, kept out of reach. We are told that Lancaster had numerous cannon, with which he bombarded the walls, but he put his chief trust in mining operations. The works were nearly completed when, early in August, the garrison, taking advantage of insufficient watch kept by the Earl of Arundel, sallied by night and wrecked the mine. The siege was then abandoned, and Lancaster sailed home more discredited and unpopular than ever.[2] As a set-off, however, to the failures of the year Cherbourg had been placed, very unexpectedly, in the hands of the English.

Charles the Bad had been driven by Charles the Wise by a sudden and somewhat treacherous attack clean out of Normandy: to save his last footing north of the Loire the King of Navarre had made over Cherbourg to England for three years, in consideration of receiving a sum of money, and a force of 3,000 men from Aquitaine, to support him against Enrique of Castile, who, at the instigation of the other Charles, was threatening to expel him from Navarre. On the 27th June Cherbourg changed masters.[3]

The Duke returned to find London boiling with indignation at a tragic incident, resented as an outrage both by the clergy and the citizens. Robert Hawley and John Shakell, two esquires who had seen a great deal of service in the wars,[4] had captured the Count of Denia, a Spanish

[1] Murimuth, Cont. 232, and Issue Roll.

[2] Froissart, I. 719, II. 31, 35, 36; Armitage Smith.

[3] Foed. IV. 42, 47; Issues, Devon, 208. For the incident, see Lavisse, IV. 246. An excuse for the attack on *Charles le Mauvais* was found in treasonable correspondence with England, likely enough.

[4] See Rot. Parlt. III. 50.

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magnate,[1] at the battle of Najera. The Count was allowed to go home on leaving his eldest son Alphonso as a hostage. Years went by, but no ransom came. At last in August 1377 the money was declared to be ready.[2] The English government then made efforts to get possession of the hostage, who was being kept in secret. Hawley and Shakell were ordered to produce their captive in Parliament; and when they refused to do so they were sent to the Tower.[3] The Duke was understood to be at the bottom of the affair, his object being to use the young Count for political purposes in Spain.[4] Hawley and Shakell apparently lay in the Tower for several months; at last they found an opportunity of escaping, and took sanctuary at Westminster. Alan Boxhill, the Constable of the Tower, followed them in force. Shakell allowed himself to be recaptured; Hawley resisted, and was killed in the choir of the Abbey, during the celebration of High Mass; one of the attendants of the Church shared his fate.[5]

A disputed prize.

"Terror at this wild outrage appears to have been the first feeling of the bishops." But in three days' time Simon of Sudbury had summoned courage to draw the sword of St. Peter, and denounced the major excommunication against all in any way concerned in the sacrilege without exception.[6] Courtenay of London repeated the censure every Sunday, Wednesday and Friday, as he preached to crowds of agitated citizens. Requested in the King's name

[1] The Count was son of the Arragonese Infante Don Pedro, and grandson of the King Jayme II of Arragon. He was created Marquis of Villena by Henry of Trastamare; his son, the hostage, had been betrothed to a natural daughter of King Henry; Ayala, III. 93; Mariana, 841.

[2] Foed. IV. 15.

[3] Foed. 23, 25; Rot. Parlt. III. 10.

[4] Chron. Angl. 206; Walsingham, I. 376. If the Duke had no share in the outrage of the 11th August, in all other respects he supported the Government in their action and its consequences.

[5] 11 August; Chron. Angl. and Walsingham, sup.; Rot. Parlt. 37; Murimuth, Cont. 333; Mon. Evesh. 7. Shakell remained in the Tower till 1379, when he came to terms with the Government, and produced his hostage in the person of the supposed servant who had been allowed to attend him in prison. The fidelity to his parole of young Alphonso, who had acted his part throughout, created quite a sensation; Chron. Angl. 241.

[6] See the mandate, Wilkins, Conc. III. 132.

to desist, he took no notice; called to attend a Council at Windsor, he failed to come. Again the Duke threatened personal violence.[1] CHAP. VIII 1378

With such a ferment seething London was clearly no place for the meeting of Parliament;[2] the lieges therefore were summoned to Gloucester for the 20th October.[3] A stormy session ensued, which the Government were quite unable to control. The Chancellor, Adam Houghton of St. Davids, opened the proceedings. He pressed the Commons with the fact that the King was surrounded with wars, and that the Scots might again be reckoned among his enemies; he called the attention of the Lords to the prevalence of armed brigandage, going on to complain in querulous tones of evil-minded "bacbyters", who industriously circulated lying slanders against the lords and chief officers of state.[4] Parliament.

James Pickering, knight, the Speaker, declined on behalf of the Commons to give any subsidy, on the ground, partly of the extraordinary grant of the previous year, partly of the low prices of agricultural produce.[5] When further pressed the Commons called for the accounts of the last year, and asked that a committee of five or six peers might be named to confer with them. The inspection of the accounts was granted, with considerable reluctance. But the Lords refused to face the whole united Commons; a joint committee of the two Houses, they said, would be more agreeable to ancient precedent.[6] The clergy then had their say, and the Archbishop in their name made a formal demand for satisfaction for the pollution of the church at Westminster. Lancaster's friends retorted that a general

[1] Chron. Angl. 210; Walsingham, I. 378; Shirley, sup.

[2] For riotous demonstrations against Lancaster and Buckingham, see Riley, Memorials, 424, 427.

[3] Lords' Report; the session lasted till the 16th November.

[4] Rot. Parlt. III. 32, 33; see also Riley, Memorials, 425. Houghton resigned the Seal on the 29th October. He had to answer to the Pope for acts of violence committed by him as Chancellor; Foed. IV. 55; Bp. Stubbs.

[5] In 1377 and 1378 wheat "was lower than for 30 years"; 4*s.* the quarter was a common rate; in some cases only 2*s.* 4*d.* was obtained; Rogers, Prices, I. 215, II. 153.

[6] Rot. Parlt. 35, 36.

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right of sanctuary in cases of 'debt trespass or account' such as that claimed at Westminster, was monstrous and intolerable; the unconstitutional imprisonment of Hawley and Shakell being treated as a mere incidental proceeding in a suit to determine the right to Denia's ransom! The legal officers of the Crown were heard in support of this contention; and after them Wycliffe was produced to argue that not even God in His Omnipotence, or the Pope in his sanctity, could grant a local exemption from personal actions for debt.[1] In fact the existing rights of asylum were felt to be indefensible. Nothing, however, was done during this session, but next year the right of protection to fraudulent debtors was withdrawn, sanctuary for felony being expressly confirmed.

Right of sanctuary.

With respect to the brigandage of which the Commons complained, it appeared that the endemic seats of those disorders were the counties of Hereford, Chester, and Lancaster. To meet the evil the Statute of Northampton (3 Edw. III. c. 3) was re-enacted, and authority taken to appoint Commissions with summary powers for dealing with such disorders. But the Commons thought the remedy worse than the disease, and at their request the measure was repealed next year.[2]

The Commons eventually agreed to a prolongation of the wool duties at the existing rates, with a "novel increase" of 13*s.* 4*d.* on the sack of wool and 240 wool fells, and 26*s.* 8*d.* on the last of leather, but only to Easter 1380. The surtax of 6*d.* on the £1 of general merchandise was also prolonged to Michaelmas 1379.[3]

[1] See Rot. Parlt. III. 37; Murimuth, Cont. 345; for Wycliffe's further defence of Lancaster, and his views generally, see Fasc. Ziz. xxxvi. It must have been in this Parliament that Wycliffe presented his defence of his 'Nineteen Conclusions'; printed Fasc. Ziz. 245; but wrongly dated by Bishop Bale in 1377. Eventually, "dissatisfied with the miserably inadequate statute of 1379, and finding that it had been made the basis of a reconciliation between Church and State," Wycliffe brought out his *De Officio Regis* arguing for "the reform of the Church by the King through the Bishops, his nominees, the future Tudor scheme"; Trevelyan, sup. 497.

[2] Rot. Parlt. 42; Statutes, II. 9, 12.

[3] Rot. Parlt. 37, 38. With the extra surtax the rates would be 63*s.* 4*d.*, and 126*s.* 8*d.* from natives, 66*s.* 8*d.* and 133*s.* 4*d.* from aliens. Wool at the time commanded from 146*s.* to 166*s.* the sack; Rogers, II. 349.

The Commons grumbled at the sums expended by Walworth and Philpot on fortifications at Calais, Cherbourg, and Brest, and in Gascony and Ireland—amounting in all to £46,000.[1] The answer was that these were England's bulwarks. On the other hand the Commons raised no objection to the continuance of the war. Their idea apparently was that the war should be prosecuted, but prosecuted in such a manner as to lay no charge upon their pockets. It had gone on so long that men acquiesced in it as a necessity, and the Government that ventured to propose peace on any terms that the French could accept would have had formidable opposition to encounter, just as we saw in the matter of peace with Scotland and the treaty of Newcastle.

Southampton was established as the Staple for the Mediterranean trade, namely with Genoa, Venice, Catalonia and Arragon, Calais being maintained as the Staple for the Northern and Eastern trade; while native worsteds were relieved of all Staple regulations.[2] Alice Perrers and her husband William Windsor petitioned for a re-hearing of her case on grounds of error, one error being that she had been arraigned as a *feme sole* when in fact she was a *feme covert*.[3] On the 16th November the Parliament rose. The Great Seal resigned by Houghton on the 29th October had been given the same day to Richard, Lord Scrope of Bolton, Steward of the Household, and ex-Treasurer, "the faithful and life-long adviser of John of Gaunt."[4]

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 36. Calais alone was costing upwards of £10,000 a year; Issue Rolls.

[2] Statutes, I. 6; Rot. Parlt. III. 44, and IV. 250.

[3] Rot. Parlt. 41. Some valuable furniture and effects had already been restored to her, 16 January 1378, but no jewels; Foed. IV. 28.

[4] Foed. 51; Bp. Stubbs, II. 442; Foss.

CHAPTER IX

Richard II (*continued*)

A.D. 1378–1381

The Great Schism of the West.—Urban VI the Pope recognized by England.—Parliament.—The Second Poll-tax.—Affairs of Brittany.—Disastrous expedition of John FitzAlan of Arundel.—Parliament.—Expedition of Buckingham to Brittany.—Death of Charles V of France.—Parliament.—Third Poll-tax.

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Great Schism of the West.

The Gloucester Parliament was not solely concerned with domestic affairs. It was also called upon to take cognizance of an event pregnant with consequences for the future of the Papacy and of Europe, namely the beginning of the Great Schism of the West, consequent on the death of Gregory IX, and the end of "the Babylonish Captivity".

Like his predecessor Urban V, Gregory had at last resigned himself to the conviction that he must either "rule in Italy or cease to rule"; prolonged absence would entail the loss of Italy; while all Europe was protesting against the continuance of the Papacy at Avignon, with its consequent subjection to French interests. The saintly Katherine of Siena called on Gregory to return to Rome, restore peace, and reform the Church. In the month of April 1376 he left Avignon, and, after a lengthy and somewhat chequered voyage, entered Rome on the 11th January 1377, sailing up the Tiber. But he found himself surrounded with difficulties, at war with the Florentines, and powerless. He was meditating a return to Avignon when on the night of the 27th–28th March 1378 he passed away, leaving everything in the greatest confusion.[1] The Romans at once raised their voices for a Roman, or at all events an Italian Pope.

[1] See Sismondi, Républiques Italiennes, VII, 102, &c.; the letter to the Emperor, Knighton, Cont. 2632; Milman, V. 564–567; and Creighton, Papacy during the Reformation, I. 50.

Sixteen Cardinals were present in Rome, namely one Spaniard, four Italians, and eleven Frenchmen. But the French interest was divided; "within that circle there was another circle", that of the Limousins appointed by Clement VI and Gregory XI. On the 7th April the Conclave met in the midst of a tumult, the excited populace almost invading the chamber. On the 8th April the Limousins, as a compromise, put forward Bartolommeo Prignano, Archbishop of Bari, a man of learning and holy life; a Neapolitan by birth, but in all other respects a Frenchman and a Limousin. At the second casting of the votes he was duly elected. But the cry outside for a Roman Pontiff had risen to such a pitch that the Cardinals were afraid to disclose the fact that they had not elected a Roman, and the Sacred College dispersed in terror. Next day (9th April) emerging from their hiding-places they met again, and made a formal tender of the Pontificate to Bartolommeo, who accepted it. On Easter Day (18th April 1378) he was duly crowned by the style of Urban VI, all the sixteen Cardinals assisting.[1] Had Urban been a man fitted for his position the validity of his election would never have been questioned; but he was a rash self-willed man; an over-zealous reformer; hasty and imperious; destitute of tact and manners; a man "who did the harshest things in the harshest manner".[2] But these defects of manner might have been overlooked if Urban had been prepared to return to Avignon and rule as a French Pope. The Cardinals soon found to their dismay that he had no such intention; that he intended to establish himself at Rome, and create Italian Cardinals. In the face of this danger by which the ascendancy of the Frenchmen was threatened Gallicans and Limousins were reconciled, and began to concert measures against the Pope, who owed his election

[1] See Sismondi, VII, 101–115; Milman, VI. 6–8, and the letter of the 19th April from the sixteen Cardinals notifying the election to their colleagues at Avignon; Raynaldi VII. 312, ed. 1752, and one from Urban, Wilkins, Conc. III. 127.

[2] See his character in Walsingham, II. 193. "Cujus capitositas multis fuit exitio et sibimet, ut ferunt, damno . . . rigidus erat sibi, sed suis multo rigidior, ita ut delinquentibus nunquam ignosceret," &c.; Milman, sup.; Creighton, I. 60.

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to their dissensions.[1] It was discovered that the election had been held under pressure from without, and was invalid. The French Cardinals retired to Anagni; the Italian Cardinals held aloof. On the 9th August thirteen Cardinals issued an encyclical letter addressed to "Bartolommeo Prignano", setting forth that his election to the Papacy was utterly void, and calling on him to abdicate and repent.[2]

Left alone Urban suddenly produced nine-and-twenty Cardinals, all in one batch (18th September). Forced to act, the Opposition held a Consistory at Fondi on the 20th September; resolved themselves into a conclave; and next day elected Robert of Geneva, Bishop of Cambray; a man of high connexions, a soldier and a politician; a patron of Free Lances, and a man quite fitted to be a leader of Free Lances.[3] He took the name of Clement VII and "became the Pope of Avignon and France".[4]

Envoys from both parties attended the Gloucester Parliament.[5] As between a French Pope and a Roman Pope the English could have little hesitation in making their choice—

England's choice.

the Estates agreed that Urban VI was the duly elected Pope, to be accepted and obeyed, and they authorized the Government to seize all the benefices and possessions of the rebel Cardinals and their adherents.[6]

The refusal of an immediate supply soon reduced the Exchequer to a state of want. The deficiency was the more annoying because affairs in France seemed to be taking a more hopeful turn. Charles V, that cool 'sage' man, had at last made a wrong move. Unable to appreciate the

[1] Creighton, I. 61.

[2] See the letter, Chron. Angl. 213; Walsingham, I. 382; Wilkins, Conc. III. 129. The tone of the letter is most outrageous.

[3] For Robert's ferocious sack of Cesena that shocked even John Hawkwood, see Milman, V. 566; Creighton, I. 65.

[4] Milman, VI. 9–18. France, of course, declared for the French Pope; and so did Naples, Scotland, and eventually Spain; while England, Hungary, and Portugal stood by Urban; all on purely political grounds.

[5] Chron. Angl. 212.

[6] Rot. Parlt. III. 46, 48; Statutes, II. 11; cf. Foed. IV. 56, 84, 85. Some opposition was shown in Aquitaine.

force of local sentiment, and taking it for granted that the connexion between Duke John and his duchy had been finally severed when he surrendered his last stronghold to the English, Charles summoned him to Paris, just as Philip IV had summoned Edward I, and he himself had summoned the late Prince of Wales. John came not, and in due course Brittany was declared forfeit and reannexed to the crown of France (18th December). The Bretons rose as one man, the partisans of the House of Blois being just as indignant as those of the House of Montfort.[1]

On the 7th February 1379 a Grand Council was held to advise on the state of affairs. The Peers were willing to advance such sums as they could from their private means; but they declined to take upon themselves the responsibility of imposing general taxes without the consent of the Commons; a Parliament was accordingly summoned for the 25th April.[2]

Richard le Scrope the Chancellor explained the urgency of the case. The sums borrowed from individuals amounted to nearly £14,000; while the entire receipts from the Customs granted in the autumn did not exceed £4,000. By the Customs 'granted' in the autumn we take it that Scrope meant the "novel increase" of 13*s.* 4*d.* But even so his statement was grossly unfair and misleading. The receipts for the past half-year (Michaelmas 2 Richard II) had exceeded £66,000, of which over £28,000 had been paid to Walworth and Philpot. Continuing, however, the Chancellor begged the lieges to make adequate provision for the wants of the realm, offering to produce the accounts since the time of the last Parliament.[3] But the Commons were not content with this; they went further and obtained the appointment of a committee of Lords to make a

[1] Lobineau, I. 418. For Charles's account see Grandes Chroniques, VI. 450, &c. Du Guesclin and de Clisson were almost the only Bretons who adhered to him: but he became suspicious of Du Guesclin, who indignantly resigned the Constable's sword and died not long after on his way to Spain, 13th July 1380; Lobineau, I. 426, 431, &c. De Clisson then became Constable.

[2] The Commons afterwards complained that blank forms had been given to the messengers to be filled up at their discretion; Rot. Parlt. III. 62.

[3] Rot. Parlt. 55, 72.

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thorough investigation of the state of the national finances; and to ascertain the probable receipts and expenditure up to Michaelmas. Even the late King's personal estate was to be made available. The urgency of the case, however, was found to be such that an immediate grant could not be withheld. Unfortunately, the expedient adopted was again that of a poll-tax. But, to lessen the unpopularity of the measure, a graduated scale of payments was arranged, beginning with £6 13*s.* 4*d.* as the contribution of an archbishop or a duke, and ending with 4*d.* for persons over sixteen years of age in the humblest class.[1] The duty of 6*d.* on the £1 of general merchandise and the "novel increase" of 13*s.* 4*d.* on wool granted by the last Parliament were repealed; but the other duties on wool and leather were prolonged to Michaelmas 1380.[2] The arrangements received the sanction of the Convocations of both Provinces, which met during the sitting of Parliament.[3]

Means being thus provided the Government hoped to be able to operate with effect. John of Gaunt's vanity was flattered with a complimentary appointment as King's Lieutenant of Aquitaine.[4] But more useful employment had already been found for him on the Border, where he had been appointed King's Lieutenant to keep the Scots in order.[5] Arrangements were made for sending an army into Brittany, where the Bretons were rallying enthusiastically round the ducal flag. On the 26th April forty noblemen and gentlemen had signed a league at Rennes in defence of provincial rights:[6] on the 4th May a deputation was appointed to invite Duke John to return. In July a treaty was signed in London by which the English government undertook to place at the Duke's disposal a force of 2,000

[1] 27 May; Rot. Parlt. III. 57. The mayor of London was rated as an earl at £4. The aldermen of London and the mayors of provincial cities paid £2, like barons.

[2] Rot. Parlt. 58.

[3] Wake, 312; Wilkins, Conc. III. 141.

[4] 12 June; Foed. III. 63.

[5] 19 February 1379; Rot. Scot. II. 14. On the 14th February the Scots had settled the 4,000 marks (£2,666 13*s.* 4*d.*) due at Midsummer 1377 on account of the ransom of David II; Foed. 56. 24,000 marks were still due, but nothing more was ever paid; Burnet, Excheq. Rolls, Scotland, III. lvii.

[6] "Le droit ducal de Bretagne;" Lobineau.

men-at-arms and as many archers for four months and a half beginning from the 1st August.[1] Unwilling to wait for the raising of such a force John sailed from Southampton on the 22nd July, under the escort of Thomas Percy, Admiral of the Northern fleet, and Hugh Calverley, now Admiral of the Western fleet. On the 3rd August they landed at Dinard in the Rance near St. Malo.[2] The Duke was received with the greatest enthusiasm; some of his storeships, however, would have been cut off by Spaniards hanging in the rear but for the promptitude of Calverley, who brought his ship back to the rescue, and silenced the Spanish 'guns' with the English longbow.[3]

The mustering of the main army for Brittany was entrusted to John FitzAlan of Arundel, Marshal of England. It was soon found that the bare wages of 4,000 men for the term agreed upon would exceed the produce of the poll-tax. Why the expenditure on the force should be limited to the yield of the poll-tax does not appear, but anyhow the numbers had to be reduced; and even so December came before FitzAlan could put to sea.[4] The chroniclers tax him with having indulged his men with the grossest licence while waiting to sail.[5] At last he loosed from Plymouth; a storm came on (7th December),[6] apparently from the South-East, as they were driven out into the Atlantic, and after being tossed about for more than a week were wrecked on an island on the Irish coast. Five-and-twenty ships were lost, FitzAlan himself being drowned.[7] Of the promised reinforcement not a man ever reached the Breton shore.

Disastrous Expedition.

[1] Lobineau, I. 420–423 and Preuves; Foed. IV. 67.

[2] Lobineau, 423; 4 August, Chron. Angl. 234, 235; cf. Foed. 65.

[3] "Missilibus quae vulgus gunnas vocat;" Chron. Angl. 236. It may here be noted that "guns", often spelled "gonnes", and "gunners" are the original vernacular expressions for cannon and artillerymen. At Cherbourg the English had this year three guns of 7-inch, and seven guns of 8-inch calibre, throwing stone balls, probably mortars or howitzers; Issues, Devon, 213.

[4] Rot. Parlt. III. 72; Foed. IV. 69–73.

[5] For the alleged violation of a nunnery, and the abduction of the inmates, see Chron. Angl. 248. For general depredations committed along the coast, Rot. Parlt. 80.

[6] So Murimuth, Cont. 238.

[7] 15 December; Chron. Angl. 250–253; Walsingham; Stow, 282; and for the date, Nicolas, Royal Navy, II. 283; cf. Froissart, II. 85.

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The year again closed under circumstances of general gloom and depression; the Plague had reappeared in the North for the fourth or fifth time;[1] Flanders was convulsed by another rising against the oppressive Count Louis de Maël, and trade in consequence was at a standstill,[2] to the detriment of the returns from the duties on wool. An appeal to the nation was again necessary. Writs for Parliament were issued in October, and for Convocation in December.[3]

Parliament.

On the 16th January 1380, Parliament met at Westminster. Again Scrope had to expound a dismal tale. The graduated poll-tax had only yielded £27,000, and that had been absorbed by the forces raised for Brittany and some small reinforcements for Aquitaine;[4] some greater effort must be made. "The Commons listened incredulously." They had no more notion of giving up the war than the Government had; nor had either of them any idea of the sacrifices necessary for its effectual prosecution. But again we must tax Scrope with having, intentionally or unintentionally, grievously misstated the case. The war taxes received by Walworth and Philpot since Easter 1379 were approaching the sum of £100,000, of which £83,000 had been expended by them, £19,000 going to Calais; while a sum of £37,000 for which they had made an estimate for wages in the last two years had never been drawn, and the money had been returned into the Exchequer.[5] But Scrope had overshot the mark. The Commons, accepting his statement of the case, thought that the financial breakdown could only be due to the extravagance of the Court, or corruption or incompetency on the part of the standing Council. If it were dismissed, and the five chief officers of state, namely the Chancellor, Treasurer,

[1] Chron. Angl. 239; Walsingham.

[2] For the troubles in Flanders, see Froissart, II. 65–82 and notes, and Kervyn, Hist. Fland. III. 426.

[3] Lords' Report; Foed. IV. 73.

[4] Rot. Parlt. III. 72, 73.

[5] Issue and Receipt Rolls, Easter 2, and Michaelmas 3, Richard II. By the end of the year the war taxes in the hands of John Bacon, Chamberlain, stand at £157,623 9*s.* 10½*d.*; Receipt Roll.

Keeper of the Privy Seal, Chamberlain, and Steward of the Household appointed in Parliament, and if moreover the control of the entire expenditure, including that of the King's Household, were committed to a new committee of more popular composition, and armed with larger powers "matters must surely improve".[1] The King's consent was given, and Scrope at once resigned the Seal, handing it back to Archbishop Sudbury.[2] On the 3rd March, when Parliament rose, the composition of the new Commission was announced, comprising three bishops, three earls, three barons, three knights of the shire, and three burgesses, fifteen in all. The grant of a Subsidy and a half, to be raised at once, was also agreed upon, while the duties on wool and leather were prolonged at the enhanced rates till Michaelmas year. The Commons requested that the proceeds of the Fifteenth and Tenth, and those of the grant that the Clergy were preparing to make,[3] should be applied to the 'voyage to Brittany'; they also requested that they might be spared the burden of any further attendance in Parliament till Michaelmas next year;[4] quite a novel request, as the old demand had always been for Parliaments once a year, oftener if necessary.

The records of this Session again bear witness to the growing anarchy of the realm; the Chancellor in his opening speech admitted that 'it was said' that riots had broken out 'in several parts of the Kingdom'; while three of the Commons' petitions were addressed to the same subject. 'Great men' gave the illegal protection of their liveries[5] to shoals of disorderly persons who overawed the courts. The highways were 'ridden' by armed "routes", houses were broken into, and gentle ladies carried off for ransom. The Welsh March was again declared the head-quarters of the brigands, the Palatine jurisdiction of the

[1] Bp. Stubbs, II. 469; Rot. Parlt. sup.

[2] Simon received the Seal on the 30th January.

[3] The clergy in Convocation granted 16*d.* on the mark; Bp. Stubbs, sup., from 2nd D. K. Report, Appendix II. 173.

[4] Rot. Parlt. III. 73–75.

[5] "Chaperons et tielles liveres," &c. Coloured hoods were the usual party badges of the time.

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counties of Lancaster[1] and Chester offering great obstacles to the course of justice. These petty raids could be pushed as far as Derbyshire, Warwickshire, and Yorkshire.[2]

While England was thus heaving with the premonitory symptoms of revolution, the three Royal uncles by whom her counsels were swayed were engrossed by schemes of personal aggrandizement in foreign parts. Thomas, the Earl of Buckingham, was preparing for the expedition to Brittany which he had been appointed to lead, with full powers as King's Lieutenant in France.[3] John of Gaunt at last saw an opening for giving effect to his pretensions to the crown of Castile; and Edmund, the Earl of Cambridge, was in treaty for a matrimonial alliance for his son Edward, which promised the reversion of the Throne of Portugal.

Enrique II of Castile (Trastamare) had passed away on the 30th May 1379, leaving the crown to his son Juan I, a young man just twenty-one years old.[4] Portugal seized the opportunity of giving trouble to its formidable neighbour. In May 1380 a tripartite treaty was signed in London on behalf of Fernando and Leonor, King and Queen of Portugal, with Richard and the Earl of Cambridge, confirming a treaty of 1372 by which John of Gaunt and Costanza had been recognized as King and Queen of Castile, the allies pledging themselves to war on the House of Trastamare.[5] By the present treaty Edmund was invited to bring 1,000 men-at-arms and as many archers for a combined attack on Juan of Castile, with the promise of the hand of the Infanta Beatriz, the heiress of Portugal, for his son Edward.[6] By this masterly stroke Edmund would win one crown for himself and another for his brother.

These were schemes for the future. Buckingham,

[1] Lancaster had been created a County Palatine in favour of John of Gaunt, 28 February 1377; Armitage Smith, citing Hardy, Charters, ix.

[2] Rot. Parlt. III. 71, 81, 83.

[3] See the patent dated 26 June; Foed. IV. 92. Thomas was to give place to the Duke of Lancaster if he went out.

[4] Ayala, II. 105, 124; Mariana, 843.

[5] Foed. III. 966, 981, &c.

[6] Foed. IV. 87, 92; cf. Ayala, II. 151. In 1378 Portugal was supposed to have hampered Spanish operations in the Channel; Chron. Angl. 194.

Expedition to Brittany.

naturally, was first in the field. The Lords Latimer, Fitz-Walter, and Basset; Robert Knolles, Hugh Calverley, John Harleston, Thomas Percy, Thomas Trevet, and William Windsor, all the best lances in England, were with him. To such men a free ride on French soil was mere sport, as compared with the discomforts of a voyage to Cherbourg or Brest; to say nothing of the risk of encountering Spanish cruisers. The short crossing to Calais was unanimously agreed to.[1] Some fifteen days were spent in the transport, the army passing over by detachments, as was commonly the case. On the 19th July Buckingham himself went over. Five days were given to marshalling the host, and then on the 24th of the month the march began. For a specially prescribed 'voyage' to Brittany the route chosen was a most extraordinary one, being practically the line of Knolles's great march of 1370. But in fact just another such raid of plunder and devastation was in contemplation. Past the gates of Thérouanne, Béthune and Arras the army swept on to the Somme at Cléry, near Peronne. Charles had ordered the open country along the line of the anticipated English advance to be cleared of everything. But his orders, apparently, had not been fully carried out, as we hear that the villages had to buy protection by sending in money, corn or wine, or else see their dwellings laid in ashes.[2] All pitched encounters had again been strictly forbidden, so that the French could do little more than watch the movements of the English. Conspicuous among the French skirmishers was Enguerrand de Coucy, late Earl of Bedford, who, finally electing to remain a Frenchman, had renounced his earldom, his Garter, and his Royal wife.[3]

[1] Chron. Angl. 266, &c. For Buckingham's preparations see Foed. IV. 86–91. He received post-dated drafts on the Fifteenth and the wool duties for £14,592 14*s.* 2*d.* An intercepted letter from a man with the army gives the van as 700 men-at-arms, and as many archers; the centre as 1,000 men of each arm; and the rear-guard of the same strength as the van: 4,800 men in all; Rot. Parlt. III. 91.

[2] Grandes Chroniques, VI. 467; Froissart, II. 95–100.

[3] Froissart, 101, 103. Enguerrand renounced his ties with England 26 August 1377; Foed. 18. Isabella, who had joined him in France shortly before, was sent home with her younger daughter, Philippa, married to Robert de Vere IV,

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From Cléry the English wheeled round the sources of the Somme (Font-Somme), advancing by Origny, Crécy-sur-Serre, Laon, Soissons and Cormicy to the suburbs of Reims. There they boldly cut a flock of sheep out of a dry moat, under the city walls. Continuing through Champagne, the old hunting-grounds of the "Fellowships", and crossing the Marne at Condé, and the Aube at Plancy, they directed their course towards a ford on the Seine above Troyes.[1] The spirited Duke of Burgundy had mustered a brilliant array within the walls of Troyes, hoping for permission to give battle. But Charles was as positive as ever in forbidding risks: Burgundy submitted, even to the length of evacuating an outwork, within a bowshot of the gate of Troyes, because the attempt to hold it might have involved a general action.[2] Turning westwards at last, the English held their way towards Sens; near that town they crossed the Yonne (Wednesday 29th August); Nemours was the next point, and after that Beaumont-en-Gatinois and Pithiviers.[3] From Pithiviers they struck into the rich plains of Beauce, passing by Thoury and Yanville, and then turning southwards to La Ferté, Villeneuve, and the forest of Marchenoir. There the Earl of Buckingham spent the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin (8th September) in the Abbey of Little Citeaux.[4] From Marchenoir he held westward again by Vendôme, Saint-Calais, and Grand-Lucé to Pont-Vallain in Maine, the scene of the English mishap in 1370. Still no resistance was offered, although the French, with ever-increasing numbers, kept drawing closer and closer round the English. At last, preparations for resistance were made on the Sarthe, at the only ford open to the English, near Noyen.[5] Stockades were erected across the ford, and the road leading to it was destroyed. But when the English

Earl of Oxford. Isabella died seemingly in April 1379; Green, Princesses, III. 218, 220; Complete Peerage, &c.

[1] "Volant sur Saine audessus de Troyes;" Froissart.

[2] Froissart, II. 101–105; Grandes Chroniques, II. 467; Chron. Angl. 273.

[3] Froissart, 106, 107; Grandes Chroniques, sup. [4] Froissart, 107–109.

[5] The circuitous course of the English routes was due to the necessity of finding fords or bridges not commanded by walled cities.

came up the barricade was undefended. The reason of the collapse was this, that about two days before, Charles V had breathed his last.[1] Consequently the Duke of Burgundy and the other magnates had posted off to Paris to see what would happen. The English removed the obstacles and crossed the Sarthe.[2] Five more stages brought them to Vitré in Brittany; from thence they advanced to Rennes, the meeting-place appointed by the Duke of Brittany.[3]

John was at Vannes, but a fortnight elapsed before he appeared at Rennes. The death of Charles V placed him in a difficulty; personally he was well disposed towards the English, but he was aware that his people were not; they wanted not war with France, but recognition of their Provincial *status*, and the death of Charles appeared to remove the only obstacle to a settlement.[4] To clear his conscience, on the 28th October he sealed a curious document, acknowledging his great obligations to Edward III and Richard II, and protesting apologetically that if he should enter into any convention with the King of France, inconsistent with his contracts with England, such convention must be considered void, as executed under the pressure of *force majeure*.[5] Meanwhile to find employment for his troublesome friends he sent them to lay siege to Nantes, a city which had kept up relations with Charles V, and was held by a French garrison. Early in November the siege began,[6] and was kept up for two months and four days, under great difficulties; the Bretons not only giving no help, but keeping careful watch on the movements of all foragers from the English camp. Weakened by dysentery and the sword, in January 1381 the English raised the siege, and

[1] Charles V died on the 16th September 1380 at Beauté-sur-Marne, near Vincennes, aged 46 years; Christine de Pisan, ed. Buchon, 319–321; he was succeeded by his son, Charles VI, born 3rd December 1368; he was crowned on the 4th November; Juvenal des Ursins, ed. Buchon, 324; Lavisse, IV. 265–269.

[2] Froissart, II. 110–113.

[3] Id. 114, 115.

[4] That Charles V was not disposed to recognize the demands of the Bretons appears from a letter of the 22nd May 1380 in answer to an address from their Estates; Lobineau.

[5] Lobineau, I. 433.

[6] See Froissart, 106, 115, 118; Lobineau, 435. For the English view of the Duke's conduct see Chron. Angl. 274.

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marched off to join the Duke at Vannes. He received them with friendly courtesies, but in fact the pressure of his subjects' wishes, and of his own true interests had already forced him to come to terms with Charles VI. On the 15th January 1381 a treaty was signed at Vincennes, by which the King agreed to recognize the Duke, and the Duke agreed to do homage and dismiss the English. On the 10th April the treaty was ratified by the Breton Estates.[1] Five days later Buckingham embarked for England. The Duke, who in his heart preferred the English to the French, came down to bid him farewell, but Thomas of Woodstock refused to see him.[2]

With such prolonged operations on foot the summons of another Parliament had long become necessary. As early as the month of August the Government had issued fresh writs. The Parliament was summoned to Northampton, probably to suit the convenience of the Duke of Lancaster, who had received further powers for negotiating with the Scots, and had in fact come to a satisfactory arrangement with them, the compact taking the form of an agreement for a 'Special Security', to last to the 30th November 1381, with all the 'force and effect' of the Great Truce (i.e. that of 1369), 'as if that truce had in fact never been broken'.[3]

The Duke's powers had evidently been enlarged to enable him the better to hold his own with Earl Percy, who regarded March questions as his special province, and resented any interference by outsiders.[4]

Parliament.

On the 5th November the Session was opened.[5] The Chancellor, Simon of Sudbury, had no better report to give than his predecessor had. The Scots earlier in the year had been harrying in the North;[6] the French and Spaniards were cruising in the South.[7] The expedition to Brittany,

[1] Lobineau, I. 437–439. [2] Froissart, II. 129, 130; Lobineau, sup.
[3] 2 October; Foed. III. 95–101; Rot. Parlt. III. 88.
[4] See Armitage Smith, 244. [5] Lords' Report.
[6] Penrith had been burnt by them, Chron. Angl. 269; Wyntoun; Armitage Smith, sup.
[7] Chron. Angl. 268, 270; Murimuth, Cont. 241; landings were effected near Gravesend and at Winchelsea, &c.

with minor armaments for Guienne, Ireland and the Scottish March, had exhausted the proceeds of the last grant; the Customs were still suffering from the disturbances in Flanders, and the crown jewels had not yet been redeemed from pawn.[1] Yet Buckingham was pressing for supplies and reinforcements, and the pay of the garrisons of Calais, Brest, and Cherbourg was more than a quarter in arrear.[2] The Commons asked what sum would be required. The Ministers produced an estimate, which amounted to £160,000; being in round numbers the amount of the expenditure of the previous 'term'.[3] The Commons were staggered by this demand, which they declared 'outrageous and intolerable'; but they requested the Lords to suggest a means of raising the money. After mature deliberation the Peers propounded three alternatives: a poll-tax; an *alcavala*;[4] or a grant by way of Fifteenths and Tenths. But they expressed a preference for the first, which of course bore lightest on the richer contributors. The Commons took the same view, and said that they would vote a sum of £100,000 to be raised by 'groats' if the clergy, who owned one-third of the land in the Kingdom, would undertake one-third of the amount.[5] The clergy, "who were well awake to the importance of the crisis," and probably anxious to avoid giving the Wycliffite party at Court any opportunity of suggesting disendowment as a financial expedient, at once undertook to raise their quota.[6] The tax voted was a poll-tax, on the average, of three groats (one shilling) per head of persons over fifteen years of age, 'the strong to help the weak'; but so that no one should pay more than sixty groats, nor less than one groat for himself and his wife. The collectors were bound to produce a shilling for every adult person in the district, except beggars. In places where some could be assessed at the higher rates

The Third Poll-tax.

[1] See Riley, Memorials of London, 443; September. [2] Rot. Parlt. III. 88.

[3] Pell Issue Roll, Easter, 3 Richard II; £144,000 of the amount belonged to the special war account.

[4] A percentage on all sales of goods, see above, p. 62.

[5] Rot. Parlt. 89, 90, i.e. the laity to pay £66,000 and the clergy £33,000.

[6] Bp. Stubbs, II. 470.

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the poorer inhabitants could be let off with the minimum fourpence; but this relief would not come into play where all were poor alike, the system failing where relief was most needed. In those districts each man would have to pay his full shilling.[1] The pressure of a demand of a shilling a head from the general population may be gauged from the fact that at this period the wages of a carter, ploughman, or shepherd only averaged 13*s.* 4*d.* a year.[2] The very inadequate compensation offered by the scale of 1379 was discarded, and a duke or an archbishop let off with a contribution of twenty shillings.[3] It was also specially provided that labourers and domestic servants should be made to contribute.[4] The Commons also agreed to continue the wool duties at existing rates till Christmas 1381. But they began at last to remonstrate against the 'plurality of wars' with which they were encompassed: they insisted that the proceeds of the new 'tallage' should be exclusively applied to the relief of Buckingham, and the defence of the home coasts; and they obtained the reappointment of the Commission for the control of the public expenditure.[5]

In the course of April (1381) Buckingham returned to England, in time to see his brother of Cambridge depart on his precious expedition to Portugal,[6] and also in time

[1] Canterbury Convocation met on the 1st December (before Parliament had risen), and agreed to the grant; and that of York gave in their consent on the 10th January (1381); Wake, 312. The clergy were to pay from 1*s.* to 6*s.* 8*d.* per head; Wilkins, III. 150.

[2] Rogers, Prices, II. 333. Later in the reign Parliament wanted to cut the rate down to 10*s.* See below.

[3] The reader will bear in mind that under an ordinary Subsidy a farmer or landlord would pay 6⅔ per cent. of the assessed value of all the contents of his barns and folds after harvest; and that a trader would contribute 10 per cent. of all his stock-in-trade.

[4] As the one groat per head in 1376 had produced £22,000, it was natural to suppose that three groats per head would produce £66,000.

[5] Rot. Parlt. III. 88–90, 93, &c.; Chron. Angl. 281; Murimuth, Cont. 242. The Receipt Rolls for the ensuing term, Michaelmas, 4 Richard II, are wanting, but the expenditure (which usually approximates closely to the receipts) was only £93,745 10*s.* On the 6th December Parliament rose.

[6] See Foed. III. 113, 118, 119; Chron. Angl. 284. Edmund sailed about the end of May; Mon. Evesh. 32.

to witness the outbreak of that unique and portentous phenomenon, the Peasant Revolt.

With respect to the former affair, John of Gaunt, in whose sole interests the matter had been taken up, continued to represent the expedition as highly important for England's interests, in order to help the Portuguese to keep the water-way of the 'Straits of Morocco' open. But the mere report of the preparations had led to a renewal of the Franco-Castilian alliance.[1]

[1] Foed. 109.

CHAPTER X

Richard II (*continued*)

A.D. 1381

The Peasant Revolt.—Causes of Discontent.—Outbreak in Essex, Kent and Herts.—Occupation of London.—Death of Wat Tyler.

The third poll-tax had done its work; it had filled up the measure of discontent among all the poorer classes, and brought into line all who had any grievance or quarrel with the existing state of things.[1] Already in the first Parliament of the reign the Commons were seriously alarmed at the appearance of an extensive movement for getting rid of servile tenures and villein services. The peasantry were reported to be banding together, and raising funds in furtherance of those ends. They had even been advised to procure Exemplifications of the entries in Domesday relating to the manors or townships to which they belonged, to see if any services were actually entered as due or not. By reason of which 'misinterpretations', we are told, and of the 'evil counsels of their maintainers and abetters' they were withholding their services.[2] Some of the agitators had ventured to come to London during the session. The Government in answer offered to appoint special Commissions for dealing summarily with such 'rebels', and a measure for that purpose was enacted.[3] In 1378 three several petitions were presented on the

The Labour Question.

[1] See the song, Pol. Poems, I. 224:

"Tax has tenet (afflicted) us alle,
The Kyng thereof had small," &c.

[2] "Par colour desqueux Exemplifications, et par malentendement de ycels et par mavoise interpretacion faites par les ditz conseillers . . . ils on retret et retreount lour custumes et services dues," &c. The peasants had evidently taken legal advice, and been able to pay for it.

[3] Rot. Parlt. III. 21; Statutes, 2 Rich. II. c. 6.

cognate Labour question. Labourers were "outrageous" in their demands of wages; refractory labourers and servants absconded 'to the great discomfort and loss of their lords and masters'. Some took refuge in towns 'and became artificers, seamen and clerks'. 'The husbandry of the Realm could not be maintained, nor the land tilled for want of labour.'[1] Between these two petitions we get a fair insight into the two great social questions of the time: one the struggle of servile Labour to get free; the other the resistance of free Labour to the impossible rates of the Statutes of Labourers. To the discontents under these two heads may be added thirdly that of the poorer inhabitants of the chartered towns, who complained of the monopolies enjoyed by the Merchant Gilds, and the oligarchic and corrupt administration of affairs by the leading families, who kept everything in their own hands. "They raised taxation, undertook public works, contracted debts as they pleased, and laughed the Commons to scorn."[2] The boroughs were rotten as early as the fourteenth century. They had thriven and increased in population, but no extension of borough franchises had been allowed.

In the fourth place we come to those towns, mostly situate on church lands, where the people had never succeeded in wringing any charter or measure of local self-government from their lords, but were still in the position of vassals of a manor, and ruled by their abbot or bishop. On the crown demesnes, and the great lay estates, political or financial considerations had generally led to the concession of charters; but the rich church lords were not pressed by any such necessities, and ecclesiastics have always been most tenacious of all church rights.[3]

Lastly, the situation in London and one or two other cities might be considered as standing apart from either of the foregoing categories. In these cases the struggle was one between employers and employed within the gilds. A class

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 45, 46.

[2] Oman, Great Revolt, 14. At York in 1380 the poorer classes expelled the Mayor and installed one of their own; Rot. Parlt. 96.

[3] Id. 13, 96.

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of employers of labour on a large scale was growing up, who hindered the efforts of apprentices to rise to the position of masters, keeping them to the position of 'servants', or journeymen working under others. In defence the journeymen formed gilds of their own, "real trade-unions," while in 1350 we hear of regular strikes in the cloth-shearing trade.[1]

All these forms of discontent showed themselves during the rising. Of course the wages question affected the artisan of the town as well as the ploughman, while the poll-tax irritated and incensed all.

Not a despairing effort.

The Peasant Revolt of 1381 was a Socialist movement of the wildest character. But it was not the despairing effort of men goaded by intolerable oppression, like that of the *Jacques Bonhommes* of 1358, or the *Maillotins* and *Tuchins* of 1382. It was a movement of men who were fairly well off, conscious of their strength, and determined to get rid of burdens that pressed unfairly on them. Those of them who were the best off took the most prominent parts in the movement.[2] The times were, all things considered, of unexampled prosperity. Corn was cheap; the prices of cattle and wool were high; the rates of wages, ever since 1370, had been higher than they ever had been before, or were to be again during the century.[3] But the attacks of the poor Franciscans on the richer clergy, and Wycliffe's earlier theories of Dominion as disseminated by his poor priests, had a very unsettling effect on the community.[4] After the revolt Wycliffe and the Franciscans mutually recriminated, taxing each other with responsibility for the event.[5] But in truth Wycliffe "as he became more revo-

[1] Oman, 15, 16; citing Mrs. Green, Town Life in the Fifteenth Century, 122.

[2] Walsingham, I. 472, 482. The word ran that 'the wealth of the realm was in the hands of the labourers'. The contrast between the state of the poor "villein", or agricultural cottager, and that of the well-fed hireling, comes out clearly in Gower's Vox Clamantis, 267–270 (Ed. Coxe).

[3] See Rogers, Prices, I. 80, and the Tables, 313, 320–323; Froissart had heard that the time was one of great plenty in England.

[4] See Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist., II. 473, 477.

[5] See the letter of the four Oxford Mendicant Orders to John of Gaunt of the 22nd February 1382, taxing Wycliffe with having first caused the rising, and then venturing to blame them for it; Fasc. Ziz. 292.

lutionary in religion, became more conservative in social and political questions"; while sympathizing with the villeins in their desire for freedom and just treatment, he indignantly repudiated the charge that his poor priests taught that servants and tenants might lawfully withhold services and rents from masters who were wicked.[1] But, as Wycliffe while respecting lay property, was denouncing ecclesiastical property, simple-minded persons might not fully appreciate the distinction.

But the great Socialist missionary was the celebrated John Ball. Every child has heard of his favourite couplet

> Whanne Adam delfe and Eve span,
> Who was thanne a gentil man?[2]

Successive archbishops had condemned Ball's preaching as seditious and 'unlawful'. On the 26th April 1381 he had been denounced by Sudbury for scandalous attacks on the hierarchy, 'and even on our Holy Father the Pope'; and he was actually in Maidstone gaol at the time of the outbreak.[3] He was supposed to teach the doctrines of Wycliffe, but the rhyming, jingling watchwords circulated in his name to call the people to resistance show that his main inspiration was derived not from Wycliffe, but from Langland. "John Schepe, summe tyme Seynt Marye preest of Yorke, and now of Colchestre, gretith wel Jon Nameles, and Jon the Mellere and Jon Karter, and biddeth hem that they be ware of gyle in bourghe, and stondith to gidre in Goddes name, and biddeth Piers Plougheman go to his werk, and chastise well Hob the robbere, and takith with you Jon Treweman and alle his felawes, and no mo, and loke ye shape you to oon hede and no mo."[4]

If Hob the Robber was meant for the new Treasurer, Robert Hales, Prior of the Hospitallers, the couplet must have been composed after the 1st February (1381), when

[1] Trevelyan, sup. 199–201; Lewes, Wycliffe, 234.
[2] Chron. Angl. 321.
[3] Wilkins, Conc. III. 65, 152; Fasc. Ziz. 273; Knighton, Cont. 2634; Bp. Stubbs, sup. 473.
[4] Chron. Angl. 322; see also Knighton, Cont. 2637.

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Hales succeeded Bishop Brantingham;[1] possibly not till June, when Ball was released by Wat Tyler.

Irritating as the poll-tax was, the rising did not break out as soon as the collection of the tax began. Parliament had ordered that two-thirds of the proceeds should be paid by the collectors into the Exchequer by the 13th January (1381), and the rest by Whitsunday (2nd June). But when January came the returns were utterly insufficient and disappointing, and fresh writs were issued on the 22nd February, ordering the collectors to send in the whole of the proceeds at once.[2] But, apparently, they had collected all that was forthcoming. The increase in the rate of the tax had had the natural consequence of leading to evasion, and evasions had been practised on the most audacious scale. As the taxable age had been raised from fourteen to fifteen years some diminution in the returns, as compared with the returns from those assessed to the previous poll-taxes, was due, but the new returns showed falls in the population in different counties running from 20 to 50 per cent. In some places only married pairs were returned.[3]

The Government now saw that there was something wrong, and on the 16th of March, satisfied that the collectors had been grossly negligent or corrupt, they appointed a fresh set of commissioners to go round the counties, Hundred by Hundred, to test the lists, and extract the groats from every person who could be hunted up.[4] This fresh turn of the screw caused the explosion. A report was got up that a fresh, unauthorized, levy was going to be exacted.[5] On the 30th May the trouble began, namely at Brentwood in Essex. Thomas Brampton, one of the newly appointed commissioners, came down to hold an inquiry as to the payment of the tax in the Hundred of Barstable, and began by summoning the men from the

[1] Issues, Devon, 214. [2] Edgar Powell, Rising in East Anglia, 4, 5.
[3] See Oman, Pol. Hist. IV. 23; Powell, sup. 120.
[4] Further payments were obtained by the second set of commissioners, but the totals were still far below what they should have been. The entire sum collected appears to have been £44,825 14*s.* 3*d.*; Powell, 5, 6. It ought to have totalled £66,000. [5] Eulog. Cont. III. 351, 352.

villages of Fobbing, Corringham and Stanford. Thomas of Fobbing, a baker, boldly answered in the name of his fellows that they would not pay a penny more than they had paid, and when Brampton ordered him to be arrested, the villagers, who had mustered in strength, hustled the commissioner and drove him and his party out of the town. To punish this outrage Robert Belknap, Chief Justice of Common Pleas, was immediately ordered to go down to Brentwood with a Commission of Trailbaston.[1] But the men of Fobbing, and others with whom they were acting, were beforehand, sending mounted messengers up and down the country, to call on the people to rise, and assuring them that Kent and London were only waiting the signal to fall in.[2] When Belknap came down on the 2nd June he found himself confronted by an armed mob; he was packed off, after being made to swear on the Bible that he would never again hold such an inquest; but three clerks, and the unfortunate jurors who had been empanelled to present the offenders of the 30th, had their heads cut off and set up on poles.[3]

Kent had already risen. On the 2nd June a band of men from Erith invaded the monastery at Lessness, and compelled the Abbot to swear common cause with them. Then crossing the Thames to Barking, to communicate with their friends in Essex, they came back on the 4th with reinforcements, with which they entered Dartford, calling on all to rise and join them. About the same time another Commission of Trailbaston sent down to Canterbury, to hold inquests there, was deforced by a hostile mob, and sent back to London.[4] Further disturbances therefore must have already occurred there. On the 6th June Robert Cave, a Dartmouth baker, led a multitude to Rochester, beset the castle, frightened John Newton the Constable into

[1] See the chronicle in French, formerly belonging to St. Mary's, York, Stow MS. 1047, printed by Mr. G. M. Trevelyan, Eng. Hist. Rev. XIII. 509, 510, a primary authority; also Knighton, Cont. 2633.

[2] Chron. Stow, sup.; Oman, Great Revolt, 33, citing Réville, *Soulèvement des Travailleurs*, 176.

[3] Stow, sup.

[4] Stow, 511; Eulog. sup.

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surrendering, and then broke open the dungeons and pillaged the fortress.

Serious mischief had now set in; the mob, greatly swelled in numbers, marched up the Medway to Maidstone, and there butchered an unpopular citizen, and sacked his house, as well as that of another burgess. They seized official documents in the house of Thomas of Shardelow, Coroner of Kent, and burned them in the streets. They also destroyed the manor house of one Nicholas Herring at North Cray, and drove off his cattle. But their boldest act was seizing four country gentlemen, two of them knights, as hostages, and compelling them to swear fealty to 'King Richard and the Commons of England'.[1] On the 10th June the celebrated Wat Tyler of Essex,[2] the great man of the movement, makes his first appearance on the scene. On that day the Maidstone insurgents, having taken him and John Hales of Malling as their leaders, marched to Canterbury, sacked the Archbishop's Palace, vowing to cut off the traitor's head, if they could catch him; they put to death three persons denounced as obnoxious; released the prisoners in the castle; and forced the sheriff to give up the Estreat Rolls of the county, according to which taxation was levied.[3] On the 11th June they broke open Maidstone gaol, and released the prisoners, and among them, John Ball. He must have thought that the days of the Christian Democracy of which he long had dreamed had come; there would be no more "spiritual wickedness in high places", no wicked rich, no starving poor, all would be free and equal. The couplet denouncing "Hobbe the Robber" may only have been published now.[4] The cry

[1] See the Indictments in Réville, sup.

[2] Chron. Stow, 512. It is clear that the designation "Tyler" was that of his calling, not his surname, "Walterus Helyere (Roofer) vel Tyler," Chron. Angl.; "Walterus Tegulator," Eulog.; "Vautre Tuillier," Froissart. The only question is whether he was a Kentish or an Essex man; the presentments of the Kentish juries settle the question in favour of Essex, "Archaiol. Cantiana," III. 93. But he was evidently settled in Kent at the time. For other Tylers in the rising see Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 478.

[3] Archaiol. Cantiana, III. 76, 92, 93; Stow, sup.

[4] Arch. Cant., 74, 79; Knighton, Cont. 2633; Chron. Stow, sup.; Oman.

for free land was raised; justices and practitioners of the law were butchered, as being instruments for the enforcement of landlord rights, and in themselves "notable for corruption in a corrupt age".[1] On the same principle court rolls, title deeds, and mortgages were burnt. The rioters, we are told, had a "Wacheword", which was this, "With whome haldes you?" The answer required was "With Kinge Richarde and the true comons". Woe to him who failed to give the right answer. Off went his head.[2]

The prominence of the Kentish men in the rising, and their attitude towards the land question seems to contradict the allegation of the law books that villeinage was unknown in Kent.[3] Perhaps personal villeinage was unknown there.

On the 12th June the insurgents appeared in force on Blackheath Common, making for London,[4] the seat of the Government that they proposed to bring to terms. But no attack on the King's person or prerogative appears ever to have been contemplated. The Princess of Wales, returning from a round of pilgrimages to Kentish shrines, had fallen in with some of the bands on their march, but after a short detention had been allowed to pass through unmolested, to take refuge in the Tower.[5]

Messages had already been received from the Government in the name of the King, calling on the insurgents to cease from rioting, and offering an interview for the satisfaction of their grievances. On the same 12th June Richard left the Tower in his barge, with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the new Treasurer, Robert Hales, Prior of the Hospital of St. John. But when they reached Greenwich the numbers and bearing of the insurgents were so alarming, that the King's attendants refused to allow him to land.[6] The disappointed mob pressing on occupied Southwark, broke

[1] Trevelyan.

[2] Chron. Stow, 513; Walsingham, I. 455.

[3] "Il ad nul vylenage en Kent;" Year Book, 30 Edw. I. 69. This must be understood of personal villeinage. So in fact, Vinogradoff, Villeinage in England, 205. For villein services in Thanet at the time of the rising see Arch. Cant. III. 71; and for the like generally in the 47th Henry III; Id. 311.

[4] Stow, 513.

[5] Oman, Great Revolt, 45.

[6] Chron. Stow, 513; Walsingham, I. 455.

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open the Marshalsea and King's Bench prisons, let loose the prisoners, and destroyed the houses of the jurors and "'questmongers"[1] established there. They also sacked a house of ill-fame in the hands of a Fleming;[2] a party pushing on pillaged the Archbishop's Palace at Lambeth, and burned the rolls and registers. The raising of the drawbridge on London Bridge, however, barred their access to the City, for the day. Meanwhile a petition was forwarded to the King demanding the heads of the Chancellor, Treasurer, Clerk of the Privy Seal, Belknap, Brampton, Robert of Plesyngton Chief Baron of the Exchequer and John Legge Serjeant-at-Arms.[3] The last was a man who had been much associated with the second collection of the tax. Next day, Thursday 13th June, being *Corpus Christi* Day, while the clergy were making the usual processions, London was attacked from two or three sides at once. Bands from Essex and Herts. led by Jack Straw[4] appeared at Highbury, while further contingents from Essex took up a position at Mile End.[5] On the south side Wat Tyler and his men, to their great relief, gained admission to the City, through the instrumentality of one John Horne, an alderman who had been in secret communication with them, playing a double part. Had the bridge been held for twenty-four hours, lack of victual alone would have driven the Kentish men home, and the attack on London would have failed.[6] As it was, crossing the bridge without opposition, they marched through Cheapside and Ludgate Street without doing any mischief; but when they came to Faringdon Street they broke the Fleet prison and let loose the prisoners. The next point of attack was the range of

[1] 'Questmongers (*quasi* Inquestmongers) are described as petty informers, or men trafficking in lawsuits; Nares. The hostility of the insurgents to "jurors" raises a painful suggestion of professional jurors and witnesses, "expert" witnesses, whose services might be hired. See the denunciations of Wycliffe and Piers Plowman, Trevelyan, 113.

[2] Chron. Stow, 514.

[3] Stow, 513, 514.

[4] Chron. Angl. 290.

[5] See the London letter of the time, Riley, Memorials, 449.

[6] See the documents printed by M. Réville, sup.; Oman, Revolt, 55; Rot. Parlt. III. 143.

Temple buildings, obnoxious on two grounds. The property of the Templars at their suppression had been assigned by Edward II to the Hospitallers, who were all involved in the criminality of their Prior; and in the second place the Temple had already become the seat of the legal profession, the insurgents' enemies. The buildings were destroyed, and all the lawbooks, "rolls and remembrances" kept in the Temple church taken out of their "hutches", and burnt in the street. The Palace of the Bishop of Lichfield near St. Mary-le-Strand, where John Fordham, Elect of Durham and Clerk of the Privy Seal, was living, was entered, and the contents of its cellars rolled into the street. Refreshed with the bishop's good wine the insurgents pressed on to attack the Savoy, the magnificent Palace of the Duke of Lancaster, the noblest residence in the kingdom. But the Londoners, as bitter as ever against John of Gaunt, had been at work there before Wat Tyler's men appeared. Between them the whole palace and everything in it was destroyed. All the contents of the wardrobe, all the "naperie", bedding, tapestries and precious robes were piled up in the great hall and burnt, and the hall itself finally blown up with gunpowder.[1] But plundering was strictly forbidden: 'We are not thieves, we are true commons.'[2] From the Savoy the insurgents moved on to Westminster, where they fired the house of John Butterwyke, the Undersheriff of Middlesex, and broke the Abbot's prison. Returning to the city by Holborn they burned the houses of some unpopular persons opposite St. Sepulcre's, dragged one Roger Legett a great "'questmonger"[3] from the altar of St. Martin's-le-Grand, and set the prisoners in Newgate free. Some of the insurgents went off to see Legett beheaded in Cheapside, while the main body marched to Clerkenwell, to destroy the Priory buildings and houses.[4]

For the night the main body of insurgents bivouacked

[1] "Trois barrels de poudre pur gonnes;" Stow, 515.
[2] "Nolumus esse fures;" Eulog. III. 352.
[3] "Grand Cisorer;" 'sizerer; commonly sisour.
[4] Stow, sup.

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round the Tower; some on Tower Hill, some at St. Katherine's, as if to keep watch on their enemies, while others encamped at Mile End. Jack Straw at Highbury spent the night in wrecking the Hospitallers' manor house there.[1]

The absolute helplessness of the Government in the absence, not merely of anything in the nature of a standing army, but even of a substantial bodyguard, is very striking. Yet the King had with him the Earls of Buckingham, Warwick, Oxford and Kent;[2] Aubrey de Vere, son of the Earl of Oxford, Thomas Percy the Admiral, Robert Knolles the great captain and William Walworth the financier, who was Mayor of London at the time.[3] The retinues of these men should have counted for something, but the numbers of the rioters were evidently very alarming.

In the afternoon an anxious Council was held in the Tower. The young King was credited with the suggestion of ordering the sheriffs and the aldermen to call out all citizens from fifteen to sixty years of age, to march with the King to Mile End on the morrow, to parley with the rioters, and create a diversion, under cover of which the proscribed men in the Tower might have a chance of escaping. The calling out of the citizens was thought unadvisable, but the plan of the interview at Mile End was adopted. Meanwhile the young King was taken to a turret or bastion overlooking the position of the insurgents at St. Katherine's, to commune with them, and offer amnesty to all who would go to their homes in peace: 'And they answered with one voice that they would not go home till they had the traitors in the Tower, and charters of freedom from all villeinage, and other points which they might demand.'[4] Forced to go a step further, the King called for pen and ink, and then and there had a conciliatory "bille" written out offhand. Richard thanks the people for their loyal attitude towards himself; pardons all trespasses, misprisions and felonies committed down to

[1] Stow, 516; Chron. Angl. 290; Walsingham, I. 453; Réville, 210.

[2] Thomas Holland II, son of the King's mother by her first husband, Thomas Holland I, Earl of Kent.

[3] Stow, 517.

[4] Chron. Stow, 516.

that time; orders them to return to their quarters, and to send in their several grievances, in writing, for the consideration of himself and his loyal lords and good Council, who would ordain such remedy as would be for the profit of himself, themselves and all the realm, and thereto he set his privy seal. The precious "bille" was sent down by a couple of knights; a man stood up on an old chair, and read it aloud, the King from his bastion anxiously watching the effect: to his profound annoyance the indignant mob answered with shouts of "Trifles!" "Mockery!" and then dispersed to commit fresh ravages, and declare further war against all men of the Law, and all clerks of the Chancery or Treasury; even scriveners and public letter-writers falling under the ban of their blind fury. More houses were burnt during the night, the King watching the conflagrations from the highest garret in the Tower.[1]

In the morning (Friday 14th June) the rioters again appeared in 'hideous' numbers, some at Mile End, some round the Tower. A message was sent down to the latter horde ordering them to join the others at Mile End, whither the King would shortly follow them. Sudbury and the other proscribed men were advised to escape by the water-gate; the attempt was discovered, and the unfortunate men were driven back to face their doom. It is impossible to suppose that among the martial retainers round the King a body of iron-clad men could not have been got together who would have cut their way with ease through any opposition that the insurgents could have offered on the water. But the difficulty would have been where to land their precious charges, and where to stow them away, with all the population against them.

On the stroke of seven the King, with his mother in her "whirlecote" or chariot, and all his attendant magnates, marched out, Aubrey de Vere bearing the Sword of State before him. Noisy demonstrations occurred as they rode along, one man venturing to lay hold of the King's bridle rein, while Kent and his brother John basely slipped away

[1] Stow, 516.

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to seek safety elsewhere. But the main body of the insurgents at Mile End, who were gathered round Wat Tyler, 'with two banners of St. George and pennons and pensiles', received the King with marked respect, and loyal genuflections. 'We want no King but thee, O Richard!' But Wat proceeded to enumerate the popular requirements. First, they must be allowed to take and have the traitors who had shown themselves such "evil counsellours" to the King. Richard granted that they might have any traitors that could legally be proved to be such. The further demands were (1) the abolition of villeinage; (2) abolition of all private courts or franchises, including manorial courts; (3) land at fourpence an acre rent;[1] (4) freedom of contract as to terms and conditions of service.

To grant such terms without the consent of Parliament was not in the King's power, but to reject them openly was fraught with too great risk. The King therefore proceeded to temporize. The rioters were marshalled in two ranks, the King riding down the lines, as at a review, while a crier proclaimed his grant of freedom to all, and a general acceptance of their terms, including, we are told, permission to bring traitors before him to be dealt with according to law.[2] If the King's verbal concessions at Mile End are to be taken as represented by the terms of the written charters issued next day, all that he granted was manumission and amnesty.[3]

But whatever Richard may or may not have said, it is clear that at all hands the unfortunate 'traitors' in the Tower were understood to have been abandoned as scapegoats to the mob.[4] Tyler and his more hot-headed followers

[1] This was the rent of poor "bond" land in the time of Henry III; Arch. Cant. IV. 311.

[2] So Chron. Stow, 317, the principal authority.

[3] See the Herts charter. "Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali manumisimus universos ligeos et singulos subditos nostros et alios comitatus Hertfordiae et ipsos et eorum quemlibet ab omni bondagio exuimus et quietos facimus per praesentes; ac etiam perdonamus eisdem ligeis ac subdidis nostris omnimodas felonias," &c.; Walsingham, I. 467. Copies were issued to such of the counties as asked for them.

[4] See Stow, 517; and the London letter, Riley, 449, next to Stow's chronicle

hastened back to the Tower, entered it without opposition—the drawbridge being down—burst into the chapel, and seized the Archbishop and the forlorn little band with him who were calmly awaiting their fate. Two days before Sudbury, giving himself up as lost, had resigned the Great Seal;[1] now he had chaunted one Mass, had taken Hales' confession, and heard two or three more Masses; he had chaunted the *Commendacione*, the *Placebo*, the *Dirige*,[2] the Seven Psalms, and the Litany, and had reached the words *Omnes Sancti orate pro nobis* when the rioters burst in upon them. He was carried off with every indignity and beheaded on Tower Hill. Hales the Treasurer, William Appleton a Franciscan, physician to John of Gaunt, and his confidential adviser, John Legge the Serjeant-at-Arms, one Richard, a summoner, and two other subordinates, seven men in all, suffered likewise. Their heads were impaled on lances, paraded through the streets, and finally set up on stakes on London Bridge.[3] Henry of Bolingbroke, Lancaster's eldest son, afterwards Earl of Derby and King Henry IV, had been left in the Tower; he was in great danger, and only saved by the courage of one John Ferrour of Southwark.[4]

Treasurer executed.

For Sudbury and Hales every commiseration is due. Hales had no hand in the imposition of the poll-tax, having only taken office on the 1st February. Sudbury was a gentle pious man, of some breadth of view, as he was supposed to be too indulgent to Wycliffe; his only fault was that he was no more alive than the rest of his countrymen to the iniquity and madness of the war.

The rest of the terrible Friday was marked by wholesale bloodshed. Richard Lyons "who had survived the impeachment of the Good Parliament" was beheaded in

the best account of the events in Town; also Walsingham, I. 458; Chron. Angl. 290; Mon. Evesh. 27.

[1] Foss.

[2] These collects or prayers belong to different services for the burial of the dead.

[3] Chron. Stow, 517; Riley, 450; Knighton, Cont. 2635. The reports of the St. Alban's writers here are of no account; mere inventions.

[4] See Tyler, Henry V, 17, citing Placita coram R. in castro Oxon. 1 Henry IV.

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Cheapside.[1] War was declared on all foreigners, chiefly Flemings; foreigners have always been unpopular with the English lower orders, as competitors in work or trade, and tending to lower rates of wages. "Bread and cheese" was tendered as a shibboleth to the Flemings. "If their speech sounded anything on 'brod' or 'case' off went their heads, as a sure marke they were Flemings."[2] Thirty to forty Flemings were said to have been dragged from the former church of St. Martin's in the Vintry and beheaded; while the houses of the Lombards were attacked and plundered.[3]

From Mile End the King had gone with his mother to find rest and shelter at the Wardrobe, near Blackfriars, the strongest place in London after the Tower, the Tower itself being left to the rioters. The Great Seal was given to the Earl of Arundel, as Keeper for the time.[4] Outrages went on throughout the night. One party burned Butterwyke's house in the village of Knightsbridge, while another band with lighted torches presented themselves at the Guildhall, proposing to burn 'the book which is called Jubile' and all the city muniments; but they were resisted and driven off with ease.[5]

Saturday 15th June again opened with disorder. Rioters went down to Westminster, invaded the Abbey, and tore John Imworth, Marshal of the Marshalsea, and Chief Gaoler of London, from the twisted columns of the Confessor's shrine, to which he was clinging, and carried him away to Cheapside to be beheaded; an unfortunate "valet" for an unguarded utterance suffered the same fate. Meanwhile charters of manumission and amnesty were being made out in favour of such counties as cared to apply for them,[6] while proclamations were cried up and down the streets for all men to retire to their hearths and homes,

[1] Riley, sup. [2] Stow, London, 288; Chron. London, Kingsford, 15.
[3] Chron. Stow, 518; Riley, sup.
[4] Foed. III. 123. On the 16th June Hugh Segrave, Steward of the Household, succeeded him.
[5] Oman, 71; Réville, 206. For the Jubile, a book of "articles pertaining to the good governance of London", see Riley, 494, note, and Rot. Parlt., III. 227.
[6] See one of these, Walsingham, I. 467 and above, 154 note.

and keep the peace. 'But they would not.' At three o'clock in the afternoon the King with an escort of two hundred men went to Westminster, for a solemn intercession. The Abbot and monks, with the canons and vicars of St. Stephen's Chapel, all bareheaded and barefooted, met him half-way to Charing Cross, and brought him back to offer at the high altar. After that he confessed to an anchorite and had a long conversation with the man.[1]

Richard, or his advisers, with a truly noble trust in the Divinity supposed to hedge a King, were calling for another interview with the insurgents, who had been summoned to present themselves in Smithfield. On reaching the place Richard drew rein at the East end, opposite the house of one of the canons of St. Bartholomew's, the rioters being arrayed at the West end. Walworth the Mayor was sent to order the leader to come forward to speak with the King. Wat Tyler rode up bravely on a little pony, with a man on horseback carrying his banner behind him. Dismounting, he took a "dragge" (hoe) from the hand of a follower, and half-kneeling took Richard by the hand in the most free and easy fashion, shaking it lustily, and saying 'Brother, be of good cheer, thee shall have within a fortnight more cheering from commons than thee ever had before; we twain shall be right good fellows.' Richard in response, with almost childlike simplicity, asked why they would not disperse and go home. Wat answered with an oath that his companions would not go home till they had their charters, with all the points that they required settled in their favour; the great Lords would repent of it, if they did not get what they wanted. The King asked to have their demands in writing, duly authenticated; whereupon Wat proceeded to rehearse them by word of mouth. His requirements were pretty sweeping: after demanding special regard for "la ley de Winchester", presumably

[1] Chron. Stow, 518. Stow, London, 288, says that Richard paid his devotion to "Our Lady in the Pew"; so, too, Froissart, II. 160; probably the interview with the anchorite was held in the Pew.

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the Statute of Winchester of Edward I[1]—a curious request, the purport of which we do not profess to understand—he went on to require the abolition of all outlawry by process of law; the curtailment of lay lords' estates to 'narrow proportions, as between man and man, excepting our Lord the King'; redistribution of church property, saving the rights of present occupants; suppression of all bishoprics but one; lands and tenements of "possessioners" to be taken from them, reserving reasonable allowance for their maintenance, besides, of course, general abolition of villeinage and villein services, as in fact already conceded.[2]

Richard answered very quietly that they should have whatever he could lawfully grant saving the prerogatives (*la regalitie*) of the Crown, and therewith once more he ordered Wat to go home without further demur. We are expressly told that the King and Tyler conversed apart, none of the attendants joining in the colloquy. Wat then, as if to show how completely at home he felt, said that his mouth was dry, with speaking and the heat, and asked for a cup of water. Having rinced his mouth he spat out the water in rather vulgar fashion, and then called for a pot of beer, which he drank. Having done so he mounted his pony. What Wat meant to do next we cannot say, but, at this juncture, a "valet" or footman from Kent, who was in the King's retinue, begged to be allowed to come forward to have a nearer look at the Captain, and having looked at him at once exclaimed that he was 'the greatest thief and robber in Kent'. Wat, catching the purport of what the man said, beckoned frowningly to him to come forward, at the same time ordering his mounted standard-bearer to get down, and make ready his sword. The poor "valet" naturally drew back, but the courtiers pushed him to the front, to see what the rebel Captain would venture to do. In this strait the poor man burst into voluble utterance,

[1] "Que nul ley devoiet estre, fors la ley de Winchester." The Statute of Winchester of 1285 (13 Edw. I, Statutes I. 112) deals with primitive regulations of Watch and Ward and Hue and Cry, &c. Wat's demand must have meant a reverter to some obsolete system of police.

[2] Chron. Stow, 519.

justifying his words, and pleading for life. Wat advanced to stab him with a dagger, when Walworth, rushing to the front, arrested him for violence in the King's presence. Wat turned his dagger against the Mayor's breast, but the Mayor wore a shirt of mail under his gown; drawing his "baselard"[1] he struck the rebel on the neck and head, while another "valet" stabbed him in the chest.[2] Calling out for vengeance and help, he struggled on with his pony for a hundred yards or so, and then fell to the ground. Friends carried him to a neighbouring "hospital", or house of entertainment for poor travellers. The moment was highly critical. The rioters were beginning to string their bows; some of the King's followers were again slinking away in bodily fear; the insurgents were probably looking round them for some word of command, when Richard, spurring to the front, called out 'I will be your captain, follow me'; and, placing himself at their head, he proceeded to lead them northwards, away from the City, to Clerkenwell Fields, open farm land. Meanwhile Walworth hastened off to bring up all the City forces that could be got together on the spur of the moment. The citizens had evidently already been mustering in self-defence, as we are told that in a short space of time 'the aldermen' came up from their several wards, with a fine body of men all well armed.[3] They found the insurgents cooped up in a field of corn, 'like sheep in a fold.' The rioters' discomfiture was completed by the appearance of Walworth with Wat's head on a pole. "Mercy" was now the cry, the deluded men falling on their knees in abject terror. Happily, merciful counsels prevailed; the King granted their prayer, and Knolles, the man of war, gave the word, 'Fall out! ye wretches—Slack bowstrings and begone!'[4] And, fast enough, they broke up and went. Two knights were told

[1] The baselard was a short sword or cutlass.

[2] Chron. Stow, 519, 520; Riley, 450; Higden, Polychronicon, IX. 5, 6.

[3] Froissart's estimate of 7,000–8,000 men is absurd, II. 162; but some writers still follow him.

[4] Chron. Stow, 520. "Cadite, vos miseri, scindite cordas arcuum et recedite;" Eulog. III. 354.

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off to see the Kentish men safely through the streets of London, and so over London Bridge. The eventful day ended with the dubbing of Walworth, John Philpot, Nicholas Brembre, a former Mayor, and Robert Launde, a former sheriff.[1] For the night the King again returned to the Wardrobe.[2]

The nerve and presence of mind shown by Richard throughout those terrible days, considering his youth, and the retirement of his upbringing, must be pronounced extraordinary, if not unparalleled. The boy who, under pressure, could rise so fully to the ' level of circumstances ' must have had, at bottom, qualities which, properly trained and directed, would have made him an able and successful ruler.

Wat Tyler is represented as a clever speaker and a man of considerable ability.[3] But the contrast between his good manners to the King on the Friday, and his swaggering vulgarity on the Saturday, as recorded by the same trustworthy authority, is very singular. Perhaps his head had been turned by success—or, perhaps, feeling the ground slipping from under his feet, he sought to carry the day by " bluff ".

[1] Chron. Stow, 521 ; Riley, 451. Knolles received the Freedom of the City, and leave to add a projecting *haupas* or halpace in front of his house in Seething Lane; Riley, 452.

[2] See also generally the ballads, Pol. Poems, I. 224, 227.

[3] " Vir versutus et magno sensu praeditus;" Chron. Angl. " Valde eloquens ;" Eulog. Gower, a Kentish landowner, represents him as a mere chattering jay; Vox Clamantis, p. 46.

CHAPTER XI

Richard II (*continued*)

A.D. 1381

The Peasant Revolt at St. Albans and in East Anglia.—Suffolk.—Cambridgeshire.—Norfolk.—The Bishop of Norwich and the Rioters.—Action at North Walsham.—Collapse of the Movement.—Reactionary Proceedings.

London was rid of the mob, and the neck of the rebellion broken; but all England was in a state of alarm; and in the North and East the people were rising at a rate that suggested a considerable amount of preparation or preconcert. Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, rose successively. Round London the riots and outrages were "sporadic and short-lived". But the legal investigations subsequently instituted by the Government showed that burning of title deeds and court rolls, and maltreatment of unpopular persons, had gone on extensively within a radius of ten miles from London. Disturbances can be traced at Clapham, Croydon, Kennington, Kingston-on-Thames, Harrow, Barnet; likewise at Hendon, Hounslow, Ruislip, Twickenham, Chiswick, Carshalton, Sutton and Mitcham.[1]

Spread of the revolt.

The St. Albans chroniclers have given us a lively picture of what happened there. Early on the morning of the 14th June a peremptory order was received for a general turnout, to march to London, and take the oath to King Richard and the True Commons, under dire threats in case of non-compliance. The prudent Abbot ordered all his men to go, 'whether willing or no,' the outside mob falling in with alacrity. At Highbury they found Jack Straw and his men round the smoking embers of the Prior's House, and took the oaths to him. Some of the St. Albans malcontents made their way to Wat Tyler's head-quarters, to

St. Albans.

[1] Oman, Revolt, 91; from the documents in Réville, 214–233.

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secure his support in their standing quarrel with their lord the Abbot; while others again sought the King's presence, 'which at that time could not be denied to any one,'[1] and actually obtained from him a letter to the Abbot, ordering him to produce certain charters 'of our progenitor King Henry' (which?) alleged to confer on the good people of St. Albans sundry rights of common of pasture, of fishing, and other privileges.[2] As the inhabitants of a considerable market town, the men of St. Albans chafed at the strictly feudal position in which they were kept, as mere tenants of the Abbot's manor, without any charter, bound to grind their corn at his mill, and entirely ruled by him. They demanded further rights of common of pasture, some liberty of fishing, hunting, and hawking, and liberty to keep private handmills. Less justifiable was the requirement for the surrender of mortgage deeds and charters.[3] The return of the mob on the evening of the 14th in triumphant spirits was followed by an outbreak of lawlessness. Sheep-folds enclosed by the Abbot within Falcon Wood were thrown open, the gates and fences of his woods and parks broken down, and the house of the Sub-cellarer burnt, on the plea that it obstructed the fish-market. Further outrages were perpetrated on the morrow, the Saturday (15th June); the prison was broken open, and one man, an alleged murderer, beheaded. Excitement reached its height when Richard of Wallingford, the chief of the abbey tenants, galloped up with one of Wat Tyler's banners of St. George, and the King's letter to the Abbot. Leaving the mob outside with his banner, he entered the church with his chief supporters, and called for the Abbot to come down and have a word with 'the Good Commons'. Thomas de la Mare, a hard man, tenacious of his dignity, refused for a time even to see them. When the King's letter was presented to him he explained that all those points had long since been litigated, and settled in the Abbey's favour. Only

[1] "Quae tunc nulli neganda fuit;" Walsingham, I. 468, 469. This writer now, rather than the Chronicon Angliae, gives the original text.

[2] 15 June; Id. 473.

[3] Id. 468.

under pressure of most urgent threats could he be induced to give in; but, ultimately, he agreed to grant them a charter of liberties at their own dictation, and surrendered the obnoxious bonds and title deeds. They were burnt at the Cross, with books of civil and canon law forcibly taken from the hands of the Archdeacon.[1] Meanwhile the mob had invaded the monastic buildings, entered the parlour,[2] and torn up the floor which had been paved with confiscated querns (private handmills), trophies of a law-suit in which the paramount rights of the Abbey mill had been triumphantly vindicated. But Richard of Wallingford and his supporters had put forward a further and most embarrassing demand, namely, for the production of a legendary charter, supposed of Offa's granting, engrossed in uncial letters of purple and gold.[3] But no one in the convent had ever heard of such a charter: the matter stood over to the morrow (Sunday 16th June), when it was settled by the Abbot sealing a bond under a penalty of £1,000 for the production of the charter by the 25th March 1382 if it could be found.[4] But the news of Wat Tyler's death had already reached St. Albans; the insurgents lowered their tone, and accepted distinctly moderate terms for their dictated charter. They were content to receive (1) extensive rights of pasturage on the waste; (2) some liberty of hunting and fishing in the woods and ponds; (3) release from thirlage to the Abbey mill; (4) a municipal constitution, with the right of governing themselves by their elected magistrates, without any interference by the bailiff or other officials of the monastery.[5]

East Anglia.

In East Anglia the rising ran to greater lengths than anywhere else; a mere wild outburst, in which the whole population, urban as well as rural, was involved; murder was even more prevalent than in Kent or Essex; it was accompanied by more robbery and brigandage, and presented less appearance of any definite political programme.

[1] Walsingham, I. 472–474.
[2] "Locutorium forinsecum."
[3] "Litterae capitales de auro."
[4] Id. 475–483.
[5] Gesta Abbatum, III. 317 (Riley, Rolls Series, No. 23); Oman.

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Suffolk.

The leading spirit and soul of the insurrection was one John Wrawe of Sudbury, a chaplain or priest, who had been vicar of Ringsfield near Beccles.[1] He had been in communication with Tyler, probably in Kent, and that about the 11th June —as on the 12th he hastened down to Liston in Essex, three miles from Sudbury, and forthwith led a large body of men to an attack on the manor house of Overhall, near Liston, the property of the unfortunate Richard Lyons—the scapegoat of Edward III's malpractices. The house was utterly wrecked.[2] Next day Wrawe took his men to Bury, seventeen miles distant. Turning aside to the village of Cavendish on the Stour, they procured admission to the church, and seized plate and other valuables deposited in the belfry by John Cavendish of Cavendish, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench. He had made himself obnoxious by his activity in enforcing the hateful Statutes of Labourers, and was in fact a proscribed man. Unlike Tyler, who forbade pillaging, Wrawe not only did not discourage it, but even shared the plunder with his followers.[3]

Wrawe's coming was expected at Bury, where his support was looked for in a struggle precisely analogous to that of the men of St. Albans with their Abbot. The Bury townspeople, like the men of St. Albans, were tenants of a tenacious monastic House, from which no relaxation of feudal bondage could be extracted. Church property was God's property; and God's property must not be damnified for any consideration whatever. So the clergy argued. On several occasions during the last sixty years the townspeople had risen against their abbot. "In 1327 they had extorted a charter by violence; only to see it torn up a few months later, when the sheriff came down on the town, and hanged several ringleaders."[4]

The situation at Bury was complicated by a vacancy in the Abbey, through the competing claims of two rivals. Edmund Brounfield had ventured to procure a Papal

[1] Oman, Revolt, 103.
[2] Powell, Rising in East Anglia, 9, 10, from the Coram Rege Rolls.
[3] Id. 11.
[4] Oman, Revolt, 105.

"Provision" in his favour, and had been imprisoned for his contravention of the Statutes. The other candidate, John Tymworth, had been duly elected by the monks, but had not obtained confirmation. The management of affairs, therefore, was in the hands of the Prior, John of Cambridge. Brounfield was the popular favourite, being a local man, and having secretly promised the people a charter; while the Prior was Tymworth's staunchest supporter.[1]

On Friday 14th June Wrawe began by attacking the Prior's house and other dwellings of the monastic officials; the Prior himself had already fled for his life. The Chief Justice's house was next looted; among the spoils carried off was a sword of great price, with a scabbard inlaid with silver and precious stones, and valued at one hundred marks. Extending his operations, Wrawe sent a party to Thetford, to levy blackmail under threat of burning the town. They brought back forty marks in gold; another gang extorted four marks from one John of Rookwood, a former Escheator. It is worthy of notice that the party that could terrorize Thetford only numbered seventeen men; while two men of landed property, a knight and an esquire, are named among those engaged in these outrages.[2]

Meanwhile the dogs of war were on the tracks of the Chief Justice and the Prior. Cavendish made for the ferry on the Ouse at Brandon. He had reached the river bank when a woman in the boat pushed it off, leaving him at the mercy of his enemies. He was captured, taken to Lakinheath, and there beheaded. His head was carried straightway back to Bury, and there set up on a spear at the pillory (14th June).[3] Twenty-four hours later the head of his friend the Prior was set up alongside of his, the two faces, in savage mockery, being arranged as if kissing each other. John of Cambridge at first had sought for safety at Mildenhall, in the house of a faithful monastic servant. Finding the place of his retreat discovered, he made for sanctuary at Ely. But at the ferry on the Cam he too found the way

[1] Powell, sup. 14–16. [2] Id. 11, 12. [3] Id. 13.

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barred, namely by a party of men, who refused to let him cross. Endeavouring to work his way to Cambridge, he was finally caught in a wood three miles from Newmarket, taken to Mildenhall, subjected to a mock trial, and executed. For five days his body lay unburied on Mildenhall Heath. He was widely regretted as a man of culture, a fine singer and a musician.[1] Two more days the riots lasted at Bury. Two more men were beheaded; one a monk holding the lay office of *Custos Baroniae*—say Steward of the Manor—the other a man of some position, considered too friendly to the monks; while, finally, the monks themselves were forced to give up their charters and muniments, and to pledge themselves to the formal execution of a grand charter of liberties in favour of the townspeople. Throughout the troubles we are told that the inhabitants of the town had kept clear of the outrages, leaving them to the upland mob.[2] But their self-restraint gained them no mercy in the future.

East Suffolk.

In East Suffolk bands began to gather on the 14th June; on the 16th they entered Ipswich; sacked the house of the Archdeacon of Suffolk, who had been a collector of the poll-tax; put a man of property to death; and then dispersed throughout the country, pillaging the houses of Justices of the Peace and tax-gatherers, levying blackmail, burning court rolls and extents of manors. Again we hear of two gentlemen, esquires, joining the rioters.[3]

Cambridgeshire.

In Cambridgeshire the rising "flared up" simultaneously at a dozen different places, at the call of two emissaries from London, who claimed to have warrant from the King for raising men to destroy "traitors" (15th June). The usual war was waged on the property of all persons connected with the administration of justice, or the collection of taxes; on the estates of John of Gaunt, and other unpopular landlords, including all monastic Houses;[4] while orders

[1] Powell 17–19; Chron. Stow, 523; Chron. Angl. 302.
[2] Powell, 19–21; Oman, Revolt, 107; Chron. Angl. 302, 303.
[3] Powell, 21–24; Oman, Revolt, 107–110; Chron. Angl. 304.
[4] Powell, 43–49, from Assize Roll, No. 103; Oman, 122, 123.

were issued in the name of the 'Great Society' that no more villein services must be rendered.[1]

Cambridge.

At Cambridge itself the revolt, naturally, took the shape of an attack on the University and its jurisdiction. The bell at Great St. Mary's was tolled, as a signal for revolt; two leaders were chosen, and the mob straightway proceeded to wreck the houses of the Bedel and the Chancellor.[2] The Bedel, William of Wigmore, had saved himself by flight; the Chancellor, John Cavendish, had already fallen. The University had, as we have seen, four or five Colleges or Halls. But only one of these institutions was obnoxious to the townspeople, namely the newly founded Corpus Christi College, constituted by an amalgamation of local Gilds, but unfortunately possessed of much house property. The Fellows and Scholars fled, leaving the buildings to be utterly wrecked. Even the doors and windows were carried off (15th June). Next day (Sunday) saw Great St. Mary's invaded, during the time of Mass, and the boxes containing the University archives and plate carried off. Further muniments and the University library were seized at the house of the Carmelites; all were taken to the Market Square and burnt.[3] Another local enemy was the Prior of Barnwell, disputed rights of common furnishing the bone of contention. The reluctant Mayor of Cambridge was forced to lead an attack on the Priory; fences and walls were thrown down; valuable trees felled; the fishpond emptied; and the winter store of peat for fuel carried off.[4] Four days in all the disturbances lasted.

Ely.

At Ely the people rose, forced the bishop's jail, and set free all the prisoners; a Justice of the Peace and a lawyer were beheaded; and the bishop's rolls and papers at Balsham seized and burnt (17th June).[5] A party from Ely entered Huntingdonshire, to be repelled at the bridge by the men of Huntingdon; pushing on to Ramsey, they were scattered on the morrow by a combination of the men

[1] "Ex parte magne societatis"; Powell, 49.
[2] Oman, 125.
[3] Powell, 51.
[4] Powell, 53.
[5] Id. 46–48; Oman, 125.

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of Huntingdon and the Abbey retainers, a solitary instance of resistance, for which the men of Huntingdon received a special charter from the King.[1] Further North at Peterborough a general rising began on the 17th; but the rioters had waited too long, as we shall see, and missed their opportunity.

Norfolk.

In Norfolk the people had promptly turned out, as men rode from village to village calling on the Commons to rise. On the 16th June outrages were reported from half a dozen places, extending to a line drawn from Wymondham to East Dereham.[2] On the 17th of the month, in answer to proclamations issued in the names of Roger Bacon of Baconsthorpe and Geoffrey Lytster of Felmingham, a large concourse met on Mousehold Heath, about a mile from Norwich, the recognized place for public gatherings. Bacon was a landed knight, Geoffrey but a humble "lytster" or dyer; but he was a man of ability, with a definite plan, and as such he naturally took the lead. His scheme was to impress men of position, and force them to head the movement for emancipation of the people. Accordingly, press-gangs were sent out to scour the country in search of magnates. The Earl of Suffolk[3] was residing at a manor in the neighbourhood. He was at supper, but, warned in time, dropped his knife and fork, and, disguised as the body-servant of one Roger Boys, and carrying his cloak for him, made his escape.[4] Other foraging parties were more successful, and brought in no less than five belted knights, namely William Morley, uncle to Thomas, the young Lord Morley, John Brewes, Stephen Hales, Roger Scales, and Robert Salle or Sale. The first four accepted Lytster's terms, and took service under the 'King of the Commons', as he too styled himself. Sale, "an old soldier of fortune, who had risen from the ranks and been knighted by Edward III," refused to bow the knee to such

[1] Chron. Stow, 521; Powell, 46; Oman, 128.
[2] Oman, 111; Powell, 26, 27.
[3] William of Ufford, son of Robert, the first Earl.
[4] Chron. Angl. 305.

a ruffian, and denounced Lytster's proceedings in such plain language that he was mobbed and killed.[1] The leading townspeople of Norwich, we may well believe, would fain have closed their gates, and kept Lytster and his men out; but the lower orders forced them to parley with the rioters. The result was that the citizens had to pay a fine and admit the mob, on condition of good behaviour. 'With pennons flying and in martial array' Roger Bacon rode into the city at the head of his bands. The houses of all 'traitors' were sacked; one justice of the peace was beheaded, but no general massacre or pillage took place.[2]

Lytster as commander-in-chief took up his quarters in the castle, sending out parties in various directions to destroy muniments of title. Bacon took a party to Yarmouth, a town endowed with objectionable privileges, such as extensive market rights, and rights of levying harbour dues. The offensive charters were torn up, houses sacked, the jail broken, and six unfortunate Flemings put to death (18th June).[3] For three days more the rioters traversed the country destroying documents; the 'King of the Commons' holding courts and sitting in judgement on 'traitors', of whom one or two were put to death; but pillaging was not allowed.[4] By the 21st, however, Lytster found it advisable to climb down, and beg for mercy. The tide had begun to ebb, and he probably had heard of Tyler's death, and that the King was raising an army in London. Accordingly, he dispatched an embassy to ask for a charter conceding the Mile End terms to Norfolk, with a special pardon for himself and his followers for all their recent doings. The envoys chosen were Morley and Brewes, with three of Lytster's subordinates, by name Trunch (Trench?), Skeat, and Kybytt (Cubitt?). Taking the main road to London by Newmarket and Saffron Walden, they had reached Temple Bridge on the Larke, near Mildenhall, the descent

[1] Chron. Angl. 305.
[2] Oman, 116; Powell, 30. Considerable blackmail, however, had to be paid.
[3] Oman, 117.
[4] Id. 118.

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from the bridge being narrowed by a mill, when their march was suddenly cut short.

Henry le Despenser, Bishop of Norwich.

Of all those interested in the maintenance of order one man, at last, had appeared who had not lost his head. Henry le Despenser, grandson of the younger Hugh, the favourite of Edward II, a man of a martial turn, had rendered useful military service in Italy under the banner of Urban V; and had been rewarded with a "Provision" to the See of Norwich.[1] At the time of the outbreak he was at his manor of Burleigh in Rutlandshire, near Stamford, far from his diocese. With soldierly pride he kept up the unusual retinue of some eight lances and a quota of archers. On hearing of the disturbances he started at once for the sphere of his duties with his retinue.[2] His first halt was at Peterborough, where he found the abbey tenants demanding the surrender of the charters, and preparing to invade the monastery. The Bishop fell on them, and cut them down right and left, not even sparing those who took refuge in the Minster.[3] At Ramsey he found a mounted party of some twenty rioters, endeavouring to extort blackmail from the Abbey; the whole were taken prisoners and consigned to the care of the Abbot (18th June).[4] Next day 'Spenser, as the name begins to be abbreviated, pushed on to Cambridge, where outrages apparently had ceased, but where the town was still in a state of commotion. The Bishop completed the 'pacification' in a style associated at the present day with affairs of the East, beheading some, imprisoning others, and sending all the rest home.[5] Apparently he stayed at Cambridge over the 19th and 20th June; advancing on the 21st through Newmarket towards Norwich, at Temple Bridge they met Lytster's envoys on their way to London. The party was immediately surrounded and arrested. The two knights who could give a satisfactory account of themselves were dismissed in peace.

[1] Consecrated at Rome by Urban V, 21st April 1370.

[2] Walsingham, II. 6.

[3] Knighton, Cont. 2638.

[4] Id.; nineteen saddles were captured, for which the Abbot had to account to the King; Powell, 46.

[5] Capgrave, De Illustribus Henricis, 170 (Rolls Series, No. 7; Hingeston).

Trench, Skeat, and Cubitt were taken on to Wymondham, allowed to confess, and then beheaded.[1] When the Bishop reached Norwich it was found that Lytster had evacuated the city, and fallen back with all the men that he could keep together to North Walsham, there to make a stand.[2] He had fortified a laager or camp, protected by a ditch and palisade in front, and by massed wagons and baggage carts on the flanks and rear. The Bishop's force had now been greatly strengthened, the local gentry having recovered from their panic, and so, without a moment's hesitation, he led them to the assault, blew up his trumpets, and, lance in hand, and clad in steel from head to foot, leaped the ditch and crashed through the palisade. After a brief struggle the insurgents sought for flight by scrambling over their wagons. But there again the martial Bishop was too much for them, sending his horsemen round to intercept their retreat. The whole force was utterly broken up, numbers being killed or taken prisoners. Among these was the King of the Commons. Despenser condemned him to be hung, drawn, and quartered; then, doffing his armour and donning the cowl, he took the man's confession, absolved him, and, as his confessor, walked solemnly beside him as he was being drawn on a hurdle to the gallows, gently holding up his head to keep it from contact with the hard ground. A strange thing truly was mediaeval religion![3]

The reduction of Suffolk followed hard on that of Norfolk. On the 23rd June the fugitive Earl came down from London with 500 lances. Not an attempt at resistance was made. Wrawe fled, and for months kept hid; having at last been apprehended he offered to turn informer, and drew up a long indictment against all his subordinates, throwing on them the responsibility for his own acts. His meanness saved him not, and he was sent to the gallows.[4]

As a matter of fact the rising may be said to have been confined to the Home Counties, Kent, Surrey, Middlesex,

[1] Capgrave, 171. [2] Ib.
[3] June 23 (?), Walsingham, II. 7, 8; Chron. Angl.
[4] Oman, 135, from Réville, 175, May 1382; Walsingham, II. 63.

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Herts. and Essex, and East Anglia. Throughout the rest of England there was much alarm but little real disturbance. The news of Wat Tyler's death following hard on the reports of his triumphal entry into London had a very sobering effect. At Bridgewater an excuse was found for an attack on the unpopular brotherhood of the Hospital, suggested by a report of the proceedings in London. Their bonds and court rolls were destroyed, some houses sacked, two men killed, and the jail broken.[1] At Winchester, Scarborough and Beverley the poorer citizens banded themselves against 'the more sufficient' burgesses; much violence and blackmailing ensued, but no blood was shed.[2] In Northamptonshire only do we hear of tenants refusing to pay manorial dues; at Peterborough, as we have seen, an actual rising against the Abbey began, but was nipped in the bud. The dislike of John of Gaunt generally evinced was very remarkable. At Leicester, a stronghold of the Lancastrian interest, the clergy refused to allow the contents of the Duke's wardrobe to be brought within the Abbey walls; and that although the citizens had been called to arms, and every precaution taken. The Infanta-Duchess fled to Pontefract, another of her husband's castles, but only to be refused admission; pushing on by night, by torchlight, at Knaresborough at last she found a home that would receive her.[3]

Destitute as the revolt had been of the smallest support from the educated and propertied classes it never had any chance of success. One swallow does not make a summer. Roger Bacon seems the only gentleman to whom an honest sympathy with the movement could be attributed. The other men of position mentioned as falling in with the rioters —if free agents—may be taken to have been mere gentlemen-brigands, of whom there were only too many, ready to take advantage of any disturbance.

Reaction.

But while the exhausted or discomfited rioters, divided between hope and fear, were looking anxiously for amnesty

[1] Oman, 137, from Réville, Appendix, No. 203.
[2] Oman, 138, 142–145, from Réville.
[3] 18, 19 June; Knighton, Cont. 2639, 2640.

and the fulfilment of the King's promises, the Government and the landlords were taking measures "to undo what had been done and avenge their own wrongs".[1] On the 22nd June Robert Tresilian was appointed Chief Justice of England, with the special duty of punishing insurgents; while the Earl of Kent was appointed to hold a like assize in Kent. The King took Tresilian into Essex. On the 23rd June he was at Waltham, and issued a proclamation forbidding all 'conventicles', or gatherings in arms.[2] The Essex men, who had again mustered at Billericay, sent, in some anxiety, to know if they were to have the concessions of the Mile End Charter, begging that at any rate they might be relieved from personal bondage, and from liability to suit of court, except twice a year, at 'View of Frankpledge'. Richard, in the true spirit of a Rehoboam, told them that bondsmen they were, and bondsmen they should remain, aye, and in worse bondage than ever before.[3]

The unfortunate peasants attempted to make a stand in a fortified camp by the side of a wood; but the Earl of Buckingham and Thomas Percy rode over them without difficulty. Hundreds (?) were said to have fallen by the sword; the flying relics of the band were chased on to Colchester and Sudbury.[4] On the 30th June the King was at Havering, and ordered all tenants, 'whether free or natives,' to perform their accustomed services; on the 2nd July he published at Colchester a formal revocation of his charters.[5] Tresilian, apparently, opened his Bloody Assize at Colchester, sending the accused in batches to the gallows; as many as nineteen might be seen hanging from one beam.[6] From Colchester he moved towards St. Albans. The King had been greatly stirred by the reports of the troubles there. The Earl of Warwick had originally been appointed to escort Tresilian to St. Albans; but he was called away by reports of troubles in his own county. Richard then

[1] Bp. Stubbs.

[2] Foed. IV. 125.

[3] "In bondagio permanebitis, non ut hactenus, sed incomparabiliter viliori;" Walsingham.

[4] Walsingham, II. 17, 18; Chron. Angl.

[5] Foed. 126.

[6] So Walsingham, 19, 20.

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declared that he would come in person.[1] Neither side wished for his presence. The Abbot did not want to raise a blood feud between himself and his tenants, and he was alarmed at the prospect of having so many mouths quartered on him. Accordingly the Abbot and his tenants made formal peace, and the millstones were replaced in the parlour floor.[2] But Richard would not be baulked of his vengeance. On the 12th July he came to St. Albans with 1,000 men. On the morrow, a Saturday, Tresilian charged his Grand Jury. The detailed account preserved of the doings here may be taken to illustrate what occurred elsewhere. On the Monday (15th July) the Jury refused to present any one: the Judge took them apart, produced a roll of names ready written out, and dared them on peril of their lives [3] to acquit any of them. The jurors bowed their heads, and produced the desired 'indictment'. Tresilian then laid this before a second Jury of twelve, and asked them if they could impugn the finding; the Jury said that they could not; the same course was followed with a third Jury, so that it might be said that the accused were convicted by the unanimous finding of thirty-six men. On the strength of the conviction so obtained fifteen men were drawn and hung, the number including the three most substantial tenants of the Abbey. Eighty minor offenders were committed to jail.[4]

On the same 15th July the unfortunate John Ball was executed, and in the King's own presence. He had been captured at Coventry, and was brought to St. Albans on the 12th July. The three days of respite were obtained for him by the Bishop of London, William Courtenay, who hoped to extract from him matter that might be used to incriminate Wycliffe.[5] Proceedings of a similar character

[1] Walsingham, II. 22–28.

[2] Id. 30.

[3] "Agite, vitam vestram servare satagite," &c.

[4] Walsingham, 31, 35, 36. For a ghastly summary of Tresilian's proceedings, see Knighton, 2643.

[5] Walsingham, 32; Chron. Angl. 320. For an alleged confession, in which Ball declares himself a follower of Wycliffe's Eucharistic views, then recently promulgated, see Fasc. Ziz. 273. But Ball had been in prison since those views were made public, as Lechler points out. For further attacks on Wycliffe, see Pol. Poems, I. 325.

were kept up for an indefinite period in Kent, Middlesex, Surrey, Sussex, Essex, Herts., Beds., Bucks., Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge and Huntingdonshire, the appetite for blood, apparently, being insatiable. In Kent the people were so alarmed at the mustering of troops on Blackheath Common, in preparation for Holland's assize, that they began to rise again; sporadic outbreaks occurred down to the 8th August; but, thanks to the discretion of the Kentish gentry, none of them attained to formidable proportions.[1] Yet again on the 30th September an abortive attempt at a rising took place, for which ten men suffered.[2]

But the Government was not content with the punishment of individuals; the country towns where riots had taken place had to pay the penalty. Thus Canterbury, Bury, Beverley, Scarborough, Bridgewater and Cambridge were severely mulcted in their collective capacities.[3] Between the destruction of property caused by the rioters, and the cruel exactions of the Government, these places must have been reduced to something like utter poverty, especially in the case of the richer citizens, who, having taken no part in the rioting, would have to bear the brunt of the penalties. London, however, where the greatest amount of mischief had been done, could not be treated as the other offending towns had been. Jack Straw was caught, and beheaded by the order of the Mayor,[4] but no other execution took place; on the other hand, of the persons excepted by name from the amnesty to be issued in December, the chief number were Londoners.

One word as to the total loss of life occasioned by the rising. From the modern point of view we have spoken of the action both on the part of the rioters, and on that of the Government, as sanguinary, and so it was if we

[1] Walsingham, II. 14; Archaiol. Cantiana, III. 70, 77, 81, 95.

[2] Id. IV. 67.

[3] See Rot. Parlt. III. 113, 118. The Bishop's severities in Norfolk provoked a fresh attempt at rising in September 1382 (Walsingham, 70), and disturbances seem to have happened at York, Scarborough and Beverley as late as that time; Rot. Parlt. 135, 396, 397.

[4] Walsingham, 9, 10.

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accept the chroniclers' figures. The Evesham writer gives the number of those who fell in one way or another as 7,000; and this total has actually been accepted by Bishop Stubbs.[1] The persons identified as having been massacred by the mob number just eighty souls. Little weight need be attached to the vague allegation of numbers who sacrificed their heads rather than agree to 'hold with the Good Commons'. Few probably followed the example of sturdy Robert Sale in that respect: if we should add twenty for unrecorded cases of murder we should have 100 lives to be put down to the rioters' account. The men hung in Herts., Suffolk and Norfolk, the counties most severely visited, are given as fifty-nine, say sixty in number;[2] an allowance of forty executions should suffice for the counties less seriously affected, making 200 deaths so far. If the reader will accept 500 as the total of those who fell in action at North Walsham, Billericay, or elsewhere we shall have a grand total of 700 deaths, just the tenth that we have propounded as a safe *prima facie* proportion to take of a mediaeval chronicler's estimate.

With respect to the general results of the whole movement it is sad to find that on the whole very little gain can be attributed to the efforts of the peasantry. The process of emancipation had been going on, and still went on; it may have been to some extent accelerated by the outbreak; but it is clear that villein services had not come to an end, and that on the contrary, in some places, landlords were tightening their hold on rights that were slipping from their grasp.[3] The rising certainly put all possibility of legislative emancipation out of the question.

The personal adventures of the Duke of Lancaster form a curious episode in the story. He had met the Earl of Carrick, the Heir Apparent of Scotland, between Ayton and Coldingham; and after seven days of argument as to

[1] Const. Hist. II. 482; Mon. Evesh. 33.

[2] Réville, 152, 157. The writer pronounces the Government's measures very moderate.

[3] See Powell, 63–66; Oman, 153–156; citing Maitland, Cambridgeshire Manor, Eng. Hist. Rev. IX. 417, &c.

the responsibility for the infraction of the peace, a fresh truce was signed to last to the 2nd February 1384,[1] Lancaster undertaking by a separate instrument that till then no demand for any further instalment of David's ransom should be made.[2] By that time reports of the outbreak had reached the Border. At the word of the people rising to demand his life the Duke's heart sank. Percy, who was jealous of John's appointment as King's Lieutenant on the Border, was mean enough to turn against him, refusing to give him shelter, so that the helpless King of Castile had to throw himself on the hospitality of the Scots. The memory of the friendly relations maintained with Thomas of Lancaster had not yet died away in Scotland. Mindful of these, the people gave John of Gaunt a cordial welcome. Douglas and Dunbar took him to Holyrood Abbey, and entertained him there, till he could communicate with the King.[3] Richard immediately issued a proclamation declaring his entire confidence in his 'dearest uncle', and contradicting all rumours unfavourable to him (3rd July). Two days later Percy and Neville were ordered to bring the Duke to Court.[4] On the 10th August the whole party joined the King at Reading.[5] Fierce were the recriminations between the Duke and the Earl, the latter forgetting himself so completely as to challenge Lancaster in the King's own presence; an offence for which he was immediately put under arrest. Of course he was promptly bailed out; but the settlement of the quarrel was reserved for the impending Parliament.[6]

To finish the episode Percy had to "eat humble pie"; and make the fullest apology both to the Duke and to the King: "It was not entered upon the Rolls of Parliament, but Lancaster took care to have it enrolled in his private records."[7]

[1] 18 June; Foed. IV. 124.
[2] 19 June; Ibid.; cf. Devon, Issues, 216; Excheq. Rolls, Scotland, III. 81.
[3] Scotichr. II. 396; Knighton, Cont. 2641, 2642.
[4] Foed. 126, 128.
[5] Reg. Lancast. (Armitage Smith); Foed. 123.
[6] Walsingham, II. 43; Higden (Malvern), IX. 10.
[7] Armitage Smith, 257, and for the apology, 258.

CHAPTER XII

Richard II (*continued*)

A.D. 1381, 1382

Parliament.—Questions of Servile Enfranchisement or Reform.—The King's Governors.—His Character.—His Marriage.—Parliament.—Flemish Affairs.—Further Parliament.—Third Parliament in the Year.—Alternative Expeditions suggested.

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Parliament.

On the 3rd November Parliament met at Westminster.[1] The matters to be discussed were of overwhelming importance, the whole question of villenage and land tenure having been raised by the King's charters and their revocation. But, for the moment, the squabble between Lancaster and Northumberland occupied the foreground. Both had come to town with imposing retinues, armed to the teeth[2]—a liberty that no one had ventured to take since the days of Edward II.

The Earl was received by the City with open arms; every house was thrown open to his men, while the Duke had to keep his followers at Fulham. The populace, irritated rather than cowed by recent severities, only waited the signal to rise again.[3] Day after day the business of Parliament was entirely arrested.

On the 9th November, at last, Bishop Courtenay, now Chancellor and Archbishop-elect, made a beginning with a sermon in English.[4] But the actual business of the session was not taken in hand till the 13th November, when Hugh Segrave the Treasurer frankly laid the great

[1] Lords' Report. The session had originally been fixed for the 16th September, but was prorogued in August.

[2] "Armati contra regni consuetudinem;" Walsingham; "Grant force des gentz d'armes et d'archers arraiez au fier de guerre;" Rot. Parlt. III. 98.

[3] Walsingham, II. 45; Mon. Evesh. 34.

[4] Rot. Parlt. III. 98. Courtenay received the Seal on the 10th August; Foed. IV. 123. He was translated to Canterbury by a Bull dated 9 September; Angl. Scar. I. 121.

question before the united Houses. The King, he said, had been constrained to grant letters of manumission to the 'natives' during the troubles, as was known to all. The King was aware that the letters were illegal, but he had granted them for the best. As soon as he was restored to his power and royal estate he had revoked them. In so doing had he acted rightly or wrongly? that was the question for them to answer. 'For,' said the Treasurer, 'if you desire to enfranchise the "natives", as it is reported that some of you do, the King is willing to give his assent.'[1] These words seemed to suggest the expediency of some compromise. "But no thoughts of compromise influenced the landowners in their reply." On the 18th November, after asking to hear the King's 'charge' repeated, prelates, lords, knights and burgesses answered with one voice that the "natives" could not be enfranchised without their consent, 'and this consent,' they ended, 'we have never given, and never will give were we all to live and die in one day.'[2]

On the land question, then, there was no difference of opinion. "But the political question was different: the rising had been occasioned by the misgovernment of the country";[3] and the Commons declared that without some radical measure of reform the country would not be safe from renewed outbreaks.[4] All parties seemed to admit that reform was needed somewhere, but the doubt was where to lay the blame. The Commons asked the Lords to take the initiative and propose measures for their consideration: this the Peers declined to do, as being contrary to precedent, and derogatory to their dignity. The Commons then expressed a wish for fewer wars, and more upright and economical government; and they made a personal appeal to the King to use his influence with the Lords to induce them to respect the law. The Lords answered bluntly that 'amendment' ought to begin at

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 99.

[2] Rot. Parlt. 99, 100: "a quoy ils n'assenterent unques de lour bone gree, n'autrement, ne jamais ne ferroient pur vivre et murrir touz en un jour."

[3] Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 483.

[4] Rot. Parlt. 100b.

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the top of the tree, and with the King himself. By way of doing something a commission for the reform of the King's household was appointed, with John of Gaunt at its head; also commissions of inquiry into the state of the public services and the state of trade.

The question of a subsidy led to a direct trial of strength. The Commons wished for three special 'graces'. The first an act of indemnity for illegal acts committed in the suppression of the revolt: the second a qualified amnesty for the less guilty participators in the disturbances: and the third a remission of minor pains and penalties in favour of loyal subjects. The Ministers produced the draft of a suitable measure, and asked for a grant. The Commons however refused point-blank to impose any sort of "tallage" or direct tax, as being too perilous. The Ministers then reminded them that the wool duties would expire at Christmas; the Commons said that they would like to consult their constituents, and asked for an adjournment for the Christmas holidays. The Ministers agreed to the adjournment, and withdrew the Act of Grace, which they said would be produced in the regular course at the close of the session.[1] The Commons then gave way so far as to grant a continuance of the wool duties, at existing rates, but only from the 1st January 1382 to the 2nd February (1383), the duties being allowed to lapse from Christmas Day to the 1st of January as a precedent for refusing.[2]

Among the measures notified to the Commons before the adjournment was the appointment of the Earl of Arundel and Michael, Lord de la Pole, late Admiral of the Northern fleet, as Governors of the King's person.[3] It is somewhat strange that after the proofs of energy and

[1] The towns of Canterbury, Bury, Beverley, Scarborough, Bridgewater and Cambridge were excluded from the amnesty, with 281 named persons, of whom at least eight were clergymen; Rot. Parlt. III. 103, 222. The towns, however, were shortly admitted to grace, all but Bury. But as each individual had to sue out (and pay for) his charter of pardon, there were still in October 1382 numbers of men keeping at large and rendered desperate by fear of apprehension; Id. 139.

[2] See Rot. Parlt. 101–104. In consequence the exportation of wool from Christmas Eve to the 1st January was immediately forbidden; Foed. IV. 137.

[3] "Pur conseiller et governer sa persone," &c.; Rot. Parlt. 104.

The King.

capacity exhibited by Richard during the rising he should not have been thought fit to govern, and stranger still that he himself should have acquiesced in that view. He was nearly fifteen years of age, and about to marry. But nothing had been done to call out any noble aspirations on his part, or to train him in the exercise of public duties; he had rather been kept back than put forward. His tutors and early advisers, Guichard d'Angle and Simon Burley, were gallant knights and accomplished courtiers, but not men to instil constitutional ideas. The King was cultivated, but he had been brought up in an atmosphere of luxury and refinement, and was imbued "with the highest notions of prerogative". The notions of his position that we shall find him developing might be described as almost Oriental. Habitually idle, he was prepared to leave all trouble to others, satisfied that if occasion should call for exertion on his part, he could at any moment 'assume the god, affect to nod, and shake the spheres'. Unfortunately, the personal agency of the King was still as indispensable as ever. An able or popular king still becomes almost absolute: under a weak or unpopular king the country falls into anarchy and chaos. With respect to the responsibility for the spoiling of a prince "whose life evinces not only traits of nobility, but certain proofs of mental power", his father, with all his parental affection, could hardly be considered a man likely to exercise an elevating moral influence on his son; nor could any better training be attributed to Richard's mother, to judge by the characters developed in her sons, Richard's half-brothers, the two Hollands. In these men the King "had companions of the worst sort, violent, dissipated, and cruel"; while his "personal friend and confidant" Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, might be considered in several respects a second Gaveston.[1]

His Marriage.

On the 13th December the Parliament was adjourned, in view of the proximate arrival of the King's intended bride, Anne of Bohemia.[2] Various matches had been suggested

[1] See the able review of the situation, Bp. Stubbs, II. 486, 487.

[2] Rot. Parlt. III. 113.

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for Richard. First Marie, a daughter of Charles V of France:[1] then Katherine, daughter of Bernabo Visconti of Milan.[2] A German alliance was proposed in 1380; the lady first thought of being Katherine daughter of Louis of Bavaria.[3] The final choice fell upon a scion of the rival House, Anne, daughter of Charles IV and sister of Wenzel, King of Bohemia, and Emperor-elect. The negotiations had been opened in December 1380; on the 1st February 1381 Wenzel named as his plenipotentiary Przemislas, Duke of Saxe-Teschen; on the 2nd May the terms were settled in London; and ratified by Wenzel on the 1st September. Of course the Germans wished for a little money, and the English found that Richard could make an 'advance' of 20,000 florins to his future brother-in-law, and agree to give 80,000 more when the bride was delivered up.[4] John Holland, the King's half-brother, Steward of the Household, and Simon Burley, the King's private Chamberlain, were sent to Calais to receive the Lady;[5] about the 18th December she crossed to Dover;[6] Lancaster received her and took her to Leeds Castle, where she remained over the Christmas season. On the 18th January (1382), at last, she was brought to London, and was taken in triumphal procession to Westminster, there to be married on the 20th January. The extraordinary delay in the celebration of the wedding was due to a difficulty as to who should perform the ceremony. Courtenay had been translated to Canterbury, but had not yet received his Pall; his title therefore was incomplete; he was only Archbishop-elect; the matter was settled by the wedding being performed by Robert Braybroke, Bishop of London, who must have been specially appointed with a view to his performing the

[1] January 1378; Foed. IV. 27.

[2] March 1379; Foed. 60.

[3] Foed. 90.

[4] Foed. 104–119, 132; cf. Devon, Issues, 218; £2841 13*s.* 4*d.* paid 30 January 1382; Pell Issue Roll, Michaelmas 5 Rich. II.

[5] Foed. 136.

[6] Froissart, II. 182. The Evesham writer gives the 20th December as the day of crossing. The Lady's German escort had their return-journey money sent them on the 21st December; Devon, Issues, 219.

service, as he had only been consecrated on the 5th January.[1] Courtenay, however, was allowed to do the crowning of the Queen two days later.[2] The object of the connexion was to detach the House of Luxemburg from the French alliance, but the only result was to introduce the doctrines of John Wycliffe to the notice of the countrymen of John Huss.

On John of Gaunt the incidents of the autumn had a lasting effect. The unmistakable evidences of his unpopularity forced him to abandon for the future all hope of taking any leading part in domestic politics. His restless ambition had to turn "to a more convenient sphere in Gascony and Spain".[3] When Parliament resumed on the 27th January he produced a fresh scheme of adventure, offering to lead 2,000 men-at-arms and as many archers into Portugal, to support his brother there, if the country would 'advance'[4] £60,000 for six months for the men's pay. The proposal was not accepted, though "*Monsieur d'Espagne*" undertook to repay the amount, 'either in money or in acceptable service', if he returned safe and sound within three years.[5]

For the defence of the realm the Commons agreed to continue the wool duties at existing rates to Midsummer 1386, with a protest that they would undertake no responsibility in the matter of the Duke of Lancaster's pretensions in Spain.[6] The desired indemnity for illegal acts committed in suppressing the revolt, and the revocation of the villeins' charters were enacted in statutory form; as well as the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the public service, and the state of trade. The suggestions for the amendment of procedure in the Exchequer were of a very practical character, and creditable to the new Chancellor

Legislation.

[1] Higden, IX. 11, 12; Reg. Sacr.
[2] 22 January; Foed. VII. 398; Higden.
[3] Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 485; Knighton, Cont. 2642.
[4] "Appreser."
[5] Rot. Parlt. III. 114. The total receipts for the current half year, 1st Oct. 1381 to 25th March 1382 (Michaelmas, 5 Rich. II), only came to £62,836 8*s.* 2½*d.*
[6] Rot. Parlt. sup.

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Richard Scrope.[1] But on the trade question the merchants had nothing better to propose than a renewal of the old prohibition on the exportation of coin and bullion, with limitations on the wholesale and retail prices of different kinds of wines.[2] For the protection of British shipping subjects were forbidden to export goods except in native bottoms, a beginning of the Navigation Laws.[3] Lastly, the amnesty was extended to the excepted towns, all but Bury.[4] On the 25th February the session rose.

Within a month writs were issued for a fresh Parliament. A great opportunity for a renewal of active operations against France seemed to have offered itself. The men of Ghent, at war with their extravagant Count Louis de Maël, and reduced to extremity, in their sorest need had taken Philippe van Artevelde, son of Jacques, as their Captain-General.[5] The mere name breathed defiance to France; and France, North and South, was distracted by the risings of the *Maillotins* and the *Tuchins*, fresh *Jacqueries* of the poorest of the poor, driven to desperation by continued depredations of Free Companies on the one hand, and grinding taxation on the other hand. The peasants' revolt, naturally, had received a great impulse from the reports of the risings in England.[6]

Richard felt stirred to take the field in person; perhaps his mother wished him to distinguish himself. But funds were wanting. A Grand Council of Magnates was held at Windsor, and merchant delegates were summoned to discuss the question of ways and means.[7] But the merchants could take care of themselves now, and they refused to make any advance without the sanction of Parliament.

Parliament.

The session met at Westminster on the 7th May. Scrope

[1] Scrope received the Great Seal on the 4th December (1381), Courtenay having resigned it on the 30th November. Scrope had already been Chancellor, 1378–1379; Foss, IV. 81, 82.

[2] The tun or "tonel" of best Gascon or Spanish wine was not to exceed £5: the gallon not to exceed 6*d*. This would make the tonel = 2 pipes of 100 gallons each.

[3] 5 Rich. II, st. 1; Statutes, II. 17; cf. Rot. Parlt. III. 118–121.

[4] Id. See above, 180 note.

[5] 1379–1381; Sismondi, France, XI. 263–274, 340–346; Lavisse, IV. 271, 278.

[6] Lavisse, 272–278.

[7] "Pur chevance faire," i.e. make advances.

the Chancellor explained the state of affairs, and showed that £60,000 at least would be required, as the King could not possibly undertake a first expedition with less than 3,000 men-at-arms and as many archers. After a day's deliberation the county members said that the question was one for the consideration of the mercantile community: the borough members answered that the merchants who had embarked in financial operations with the late King had mostly come very badly out of them; some had lost all their money; those who had made any profit had been impeached;[1] but if the clergy and laity in general were disposed to make advances, 'without gain', the merchants would do likewise.[2] No grant was made except a renewal of the surtaxes of 2*s.* on the "tonel" of wine—and sixpence on the £1 of general merchandise to the 29th September 1384, for the maintenance of a Channel fleet, the proceeds to be paid to collectors appointed by Parliament. These surtaxes would be in addition to the *Parva Custuma*, which had long been held part of the hereditary revenue.[3] The Statute passed at the end of the session ended with a chapter enacting measures for dealing with unlicensed and heretical preachers; the sheriffs and other officers of the Crown were ordered to imprison all such upon the mere certification of a bishop.[4] The enactment was, however, a mere ordinance, which had never received the sanction of the Commons, published at the request of Courtenay, as a weapon to be used against Wycliffe and his followers.

Thus in the divided state of English parties nothing was done for Flanders, where Philippe van Artevelde was in the full swing of his brief career. On the 3rd May he had defeated Count Louis at Beverhoutsveld, within sight of Bruges, and as a consequence had made himself master of Bruges, till then in alliance with the feudal party and the Count.[5]

[1] This was an allusion to the proceedings of the Good Parliament; William de la Pole, John Wesenham, John Malewayn, and Walter Chiryton were named as sufferers.

[2] Rot. Parlt. III. 122, 123.

[3] "Oultre les aunciennes custumes et subsides ent dues pardevant."

[4] 5 Rich. II, st. 2, cap. 5; Rot. Parlt. 124.

[5] Lavisse, IV. 278.

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A Third Parliament.

On the 6th October a session of Parliament, the third within the twelvemonth, met at Westminster. The proceedings were opened by Robert Braybroke, Bishop of London, the third Chancellor since the death of Sudbury, just fifteen months before. The faithful and honest public servant Richard Scrope, appointed in December (1381), had been dismissed on the 11th July (1382) for refusing to seal some extravagant grants made by the King, at the expense of the Mortimer estates. These had fallen into hand by reason of the death of Earl Edmund, the husband of Philippa of Clarence, leaving an infant heir Roger.[1] Since Scrope's dismissal the Seal had passed through the hands of four successive Keepers, or seven in all within sixteen months,[2] a rapidity of change suggestive of gross caprice or intrigue at head-quarters. At last, Robert of Braybroke, Bishop of London, a great enemy of the Lollards, was induced to accept the responsibilities of the office.[3] Scrope had the confidence of the nation; he had been appointed with the consent of Parliament, and with a certain understanding that he should not be removed without the consent of Parliament. The wanton alienation of crown property had been a matter of frequent complaint in Parliament, and Richard on the occasion of the last remonstrance had agreed, without abandoning the prerogative, to make no further grants without the assent of the Council.[4] As matters turned out, however, under a fresh access of war fever all went smoothly. The proceedings were formally opened by Braybroke; but on the 9th October John Gilbert, Bishop of Hereford, was commissioned on the part of the King to expound the state of national affairs. Never had the country been in greater danger of invasion and utter subjugation than at that time. Three ways out of trouble, however, were open to them. One was by Flanders, where the people were offering service

[1] Foed. IV. 150; Walsingham, II. 68; Chron. Angl. Edmund died at Cork, 27th December 1381; Philippa died a few days later; Complete Peerage; Devon, Issues, 218.

[2] Foss, IV. 415.

[3] Braybroke took office on the 20th September. For his reluctance to do so see Rot. Parlt. III. 152; Foed. 162.

[4] Rot. Parlt. III. 115.

and alliance,[1] if only succour could be sent to support them against their enemies and those of England. Then there was the way by Portugal, than which no likelier way in all the world could be found for putting a speedy and effectual end to all their wars. 'For,' the Bishop continued, 'If "*Monsieur d'Espaigne*" were to go out in sufficient strength to support the forces already operating there, he might reckon upon being King of Spain, or bringing the enemy to battle within six months' time. His success would bring all our other wars to a speedy end.'[2]

Thus John of Gaunt had not dropped his schemes; he was still wanting an 'advance' of pay for 2,000 men-at-arms, and as many archers, for six months; only the necessary sum was now reduced from £60,000 to £43,000. With respect to two at any rate of these ways of deliverance the Bishop had a most encouraging piece of news to impart. The Holy Father, Urban VI, of his special kindness towards the realm of England, had granted two Crusades; one in favour of John of Gaunt, against his adversary of Spain;[3] the other in favour of the martial Bishop of Norwich, Henry le Despenser, against 'the Antipope styling himself Clement', and his adherents. The Bishop was authorized to attack them whenever and wherever he could find them; but it was intimated that in the first instance he might do well to operate in conjunction with the Flemings. Bishop Gilbert was careful to announce that participation in either 'voyage' would carry all the 'remissions and pardons' to be earned by a pilgrimage to Holy Land.[4]

The Peers approved of John of Gaunt's proposal; while the Commons intimated a preference for the Crusade in Flanders, on account of the shortness of the sea passage,

[1] For an embassy from Flanders see Foed. IV. 153, 154. The safe conduct for the envoys was sealed 7th October. Unfortunately the envoys began by demanding heavy arrears of money due from the time of the siege of Calais; Higden, IX. 15.

[2] "Il sera roi d'Espaigne ou avera la bataille," &c.; Rot. Parlt. III. 133. A pitched battle seemingly would be almost as good as the crown.

[3] Castile was turning against Urban; Milman, VI. 16.

[4] Rot. Parlt. 132–134; for the Papal Bulls, see Walsingham, II. 71–80.

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and the greater likelihood of men being induced to serve in Flanders at their own cost and charges; with that view they authorized the King to remove the Calais Staple to Flanders.[1] No actual decision was come to as to the several schemes laid before the Houses, but a Fifteenth and Tenth were granted for the defence of the realm. In return the Commons obtained the revocation of the unauthorized 'Statute' against 'heretics', issued five months before. 'It was not their intention,' they said, 'to subject themselves or their successors to the bishops more than their ancestors had been in time past.'[2]

The petitions to the Parliament show that in Cheshire and elsewhere brigandage, and the abduction of heiresses and ladies of rank, was as rife as ever: also that the policing of the seas was so utterly wanting that on the north coast alone sixty ships and "crayers", besides minor craft, had been destroyed by hostile cruisers.[3]

Convocation.

On the 24th October Parliament rose. In November and December the two Provinces met in Convocation, the Canterbury clergy being called to meet at Oxford, under circumstances to which we shall refer. Half-Tenths were voted by both assemblies.[4] These grants were understood to be the price paid for the support of the Government against the Lollards.[5]

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 133, 134, 136, 137, 140.

[2] Rot. Parlt. 134, 141.

[3] Rot. Parlt. 138. For a short statute passed, 6 Rich. II, see Statutes, II. 26. Crayers were small vessels.

[4] Wake, 313, 314; Wilkins, Conc. III. 168, 172.

[5] Chron. Angl. 355.

CHAPTER XIII

Richard II (*continued*)

A.D. 1373–1382

John Wycliffe.—Development of his Theological Views.—The Papacy.—The Eucharist.—Attacked by the Government and the Bishops.—Suppression of his Party at Oxford.

Development of Wycliffe's Views.

On no man's career had the Great Schism of the West greater influence than on that of John Wycliffe. "It strengthened his theological, but it undermined his political position." He probably had never suspected "how large a portion of the antipathy of Englishmen to the Papal court was due to its residence at Avignon", and its entire submission to the court of France. "With the Great Schism all this was changed." The common feeling of reverence for the head of the Church naturally returned when the causes which had for a time destroyed it were removed.[1] With the Gloucester Parliament of 1378 Wycliffe's personal appearance in the arena of politics ceased. His work became more strictly theological "in our sense of the word". He wrote tracts in English,[2] and pressed on the work of the translation of the Bible, undertaken by Nicholas Hereford in conjunction with himself. On his own mind, the progress of the Schism had an effect diametrically opposite to that wrought on the minds of most of his countrymen. At first his sympathies had been entirely with Urban, as the lawful Pope, and a man of honest, upright character. He indulged the joyful hope that the new Pope would put his hand energetically to the necessary reform of the Church.[3] His disappointment was great when he found Urban, no less than Clement, destroying the unity of the Church by

[1] Shirley, Fasc. Ziz. xli.

[2] See these printed by Mr. F. D. Matthew for the Early E. T. Society, 1880.

[3] See Lechler, I. 645–648; and the references there given; also Lorimer, II. 207, &c.

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indulging in acts of violence. It must be admitted that the spectacle of two rival Infallibles, exhausting upon each other the language of anathema, was enough to destroy all faith in the Papacy as a guide to spiritual truth. But Wycliffe was chiefly influenced by the moral aspect of the picture—the disregard of Christian principle evinced by the two competitors in their struggle for the mastery. He came to the conclusion that the entire institution of the Papacy was a delusion and a snare; that both claimants were equally to be eschewed—both equally 'limbs of Satan' and 'manifest Antichrists'.[1]

Misgivings as to the authority of the Papacy led Wycliffe to reconsider the special theological doctrines on which it rested, and especially those relating to the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Again he came to the conclusion that the teaching of Rome was unscriptural and erroneous. In the spring of 1381 he published twelve Propositions denying the doctrine of Transubstantiation as commonly taught.[2] The consecrated host seen upon the altar was neither Christ, nor any part of him, but only an efficacious sign of him; no 'earthly wayfarer' could see Christ in the consecrated host with the eye of the flesh, but only by faith; the Eucharist was by nature bread and wine, 'and had by virtue of the sacramental words the true body and blood of Christ at every point of it'.[3] To the doctrine of a Real

The Eucharist.

[1] Lechler, I. 649–651; Lorimer, II. 210, &c. "From the year 1381 we find this judgement repeatedly expressed by Wycliffe."

[2] See these, Fasc. Ziz. 105; Lewis, Life of Wiclif, 318: both are from the same manuscript, a matter to be regretted, as Lechler observes, as the text exhibits some apparent inconsistencies.

[3] "Hostia consecrata quam videmus in altari nec est Christus nec aliqua sui pars, sed efficax ejus signum." "Nullus viator sufficit oculo corporali sed fide Christum videre in hostia consecrata." "Sacramentum Eucharistiae est in natura sua panis et vinum habens virtute verborum sacramentalium verum corpus et sanguinem Christi ad quemlibet ejus punctum;" Fasc. Ziz. sup.; see also the Confession, p. 125. The orthodox teaching was that after consecration the properties of bread and wine remained in the elements only as accidents. The logical impossibility of conceiving substances devoid of attributes, and only endowed with accidents, drove Wycliffe to the denial of Transubstantiation. "Criste's owen bodi in likeness of brede," was the recognized teaching; Lay Folks Mass Book, 118, Early English Text Society.

Presence as thus interpreted Wycliffe to the last firmly adhered. "The Eucharist always presented to him a mystery. He believed the body was in some manner present, though how he did not clearly know; he was only certain that bread was present also." [1] CHAP. XIII 1381

The publication of these opinions, however, created an immense sensation.[2] William Berton, the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, called a meeting of twelve doctors, eight of them being monks, and with their approval and consent condemned two of the theses, not expressed in Wycliffe's own words, but supposed to express the gist of his new views. Wycliffe was not mentioned by name, but all members of the University were forbidden to teach or defend the condemned theses, 'in the schools or out of them'.[3] Wycliffe appealed to the King; and John of Gaunt was sent down to allay the excitement. Siding with the Chancellor, he ordered the reformer to keep silence on the forbidden topics. Wycliffe bowed to the Duke's commands, and abandoned oral discussions. But his pen was still active both in Latin and English in defence of his views.[4] His Teaching Condemned.

It should be noted that six out of the eight monks consulted by Berton belonged to the Mendicant Orders. From this time the Friars and Wycliffe were at open war: down to this time a section of them had sympathized with him in his attacks on the *possessionati*.[5] Their antagonism, however, strengthened his party among the secular clergy at Oxford.

In the annual change of officers the incoming Chancellor

[1] Trevelyan, sup. 175; citing Wycliffe "De Eucharistia (Wiclif Society, 1892)."

[2] All the chroniclers notice them; Chron. Angl. 281, &c.

[3] 1381. See Fasc. Ziz. 109–114; Lewis, 319, &c.; Knighton, Cont. 2654; and for the date, Fasc. Ziz. xliii.

[4] See especially his *Confessio*, dated 10 May 1381, Fasc. Ziz. 115; and Lewis, 91, 96, 322; Lechler, I. 656. The *Confessio* was clearly written after the author's Sacramental doctrines had been attacked, *ergo* not in 1380 as has been suggested. See Fasc. Ziz. 129.

[5] The date of the complete breach between Wycliffe and the Friars was first proved by Dr. Lechler from the Vienna MSS. of Wycliffe's writings. See his Wiclif, I. 319, 678; Lorimer, I. 197, 250; and cf. Chron. Angl. 116, 118. The English tract against the Friars, printed by Lewis at the beginning of his Wiclif, was clearly not written till 1382, as he admits, see pp. 22, 27. The fifty 'heresies and errors' are a clear retort on the conclusions of the Council of 21 May 1382.

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and proctors were all more or less inclined to his cause.[1] But the outbreak of the Great Revolt suspended, for a time, all further action on either side.

With the year 1382 the struggle was resumed. On the 18th February the Oxford Mendicants addressed to John of Gaunt the letter already noticed, complaining of aspersions cast on them by Wycliffe's friend Nicholas Hereford, who laid the blame of the Revolt on them.[2] The advancement of Courtenay to the Primacy boded no good to the "Lollards", as they now began to be styled; but Wycliffe endeavoured to anticipate his adversary by addressing a petition to the May Parliament (1382), in which he renewed his appeal to the lay authorities—at the same time suggesting the propriety of discarding both Popes, and seizing the superfluous revenues of the Church for the relief of taxation.[3] Meanwhile his followers were active in the pulpit, defending his views, and declaiming against excommunications fulminated for the purpose of keeping the Word of God from the people.[4]

Courtenay took no step till his title had been formally completed by the receipt of the Pall from Rome (6th May).[5] He then issued invitations for a select Council or Synod to be held on the 17th May in the hall of the Black Friars, London. Parliament was sitting, but the Archbishop knew that he could depend upon the support of the Government.[6] Wycliffe was not summoned to appear before the learned court; but twenty-four Conclusions extracted from his works were produced. The Council held a second sitting

[1] Shirley, Fasc. Ziz. xliv. 288, 300, 304, 308. The Chancellor was Robert Rugge; and the proctors Walter Dash and John Huntman.

[2] Fasc. Ziz. 292.

[3] See Walsingham, II. 51; and Chron. Angl. 336; and cf. Lewis, 97, from a C.C.C.C. MS. The two versions of the petition, however, are entirely different, but neither is to be found on the Parliament Rolls.

[4] Walsingham, II. 53–55, 59; Chron. Angl. 338, 343; Fasc. Ziz. 296, 297; Eulogium, III. 355. Special references to excommunications pronounced against persons appealing to the King and Council of the realm suggest that Wycliffe had fallen under some such ban, but the fact is nowhere recorded.

[5] Angl. Sac. I. 121.

[6] Fasc. Ziz. 272; Wake, 313.

on the 21st May, the last day of Parliament.[1] The proceedings had hardly begun when an earthquake rent the ground. As chimneys rocked and pinnacles fell several of those present called out to dismiss the assembly. But Courtenay was not a man to be turned from his purpose by portents. He answered calmly that an earthquake could portend no good to heresy, as it was a purification of the earth from noxious vapours.[2] All the Propositions were condemned; ten as 'heretical', the rest as 'erroneous'. In the former category were included those giving the reformer's views on the Eucharist, Dominion, Auricular Confession, the Mass, Church endowments and the Papacy.[3]

With this standard of orthodoxy in his hand the Primate went to the Government, and obtained the Ordinance against heretics above referred to.[4] The Ordinance was utterly unconstitutional, and was soon recalled, at the instance of the Commons, as we have seen. But before Parliament could interfere it had done its work, and the Wycliffites had been subdued, but not without a struggle. Two days after the publication of the Ordinance Courtenay sent down a copy of the resolutions of the Earthquake Council to his commissary at Oxford, one Peter Stokes, a Carmelite (28th May). The immediate object was to inhibit Philip Repingdon, Canon of Leicester, an ardent reformer, from preaching before the University on Corpus Christi Day (5th June). The mandate was supported by a Letter of Assistance to be delivered to the Chancellor-

[1] The dates are not open to question, though Lewis has misrendered them See Hook, Archbishops, IV. 350.

[2] According to Fasc. Ziz. 272, the earthquake happened about 2 p.m.; according to Knighton, Cont. sup., about 1 p.m. Wycliffe appealed without hesitation to the "erthe din" (earthquake) as God's voice speaking on his side; Lechler, I. 669; Lewis, 117. The writer of the song in Wright, Pol. Poems, I. 252, uses the modern term "eorthe-qwake", q.v. for the damage done to buildings, &c. Another shock was felt on the 23rd, and a tidal wave came in on the 24th; Knighton, Cont. sup.

[3] Wilkins, III. 157; Fasc. Ziz. 277; Walsingham, II. 58; Chron. Angl. 342; Knighton, Cont. 2648.

[4] The Ordinance is dated 26 May, and contains a clear reference to the Blackfriars Council.

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elect, Robert Rugge.[1] But the University authorities refused to surrender their independence, and Repingdon preached a triumphant sermon in the cemetery of St. Frithswyth's—now the cloisters of Christ Church cathedral—the Wycliffites, supported by the townspeople, attending with arms under their gowns; while at the end of the sermon the Chancellor escorted Repingdon back to his lodgings.[2] Public disputations between the leading champions of the two parties kept up the excitement at Oxford at fever-heat.[3]

Courtenay perceived that his policy was to deal with his adversaries singly. Rugge was summoned to Blackfriars. On the 12th June he was forced to subscribe the condemnation of the twenty-four Articles, and to apologize for his previous contumacy. At the same time he received a fresh mandate, requiring him to suppress all teaching of the condemned tenets; and to suspend from academic functions John Wycliffe and four of his chief supporters. Rugge was also brought before the Privy Council, and warned by the Chancellor that the Primate's orders must be attended to (13th June). Rugge went down to Oxford next day, and did as he was told; but the publication of the mandate almost brought the seculars and regulars to blows (15th June).[4]

The very next day Hereford and Repingdon posted off to London to see John of Gaunt; they still clung to the hope that he might be on their side. On the 18th June a sort of disputation took place in the presence of the Duke. At first he was disposed to look coldly on the 'Catholics', but when the Eucharistic views of the reformers were explained his orthodoxy took fright.[5] Hereford and

[1] Fasc. Ziz. 275, 278. The letter to the Chancellor is dated 30th May. See also Walsingham, II. 60. Another letter against the heretics was addressed to the Bishop of London; Wilkins, Conc. III. 158.

[2] Fasc. Ziz. 209–302. In his sermon Repingdon insisted that John of Gaunt was still on their side.

[3] Id., and the song apparently composed between July and October in this year, Pol. Poems, I. 253, and the other songs there, for and against Wycliffe, 263, 268.

[4] Wilkins, 159; Fasc. Ziz. 288, 308–311.

[5] Fasc. Ziz. 318; cf. Knighton, Cont. 2657.

Repingdon were then taken in hand by the Archbishop; they asked for time; at their second examination (Friday 20th June) they gave in a written statement giving their views of each one of the twenty-four Articles, categorically; some they frankly admitted to be heretical; others they said might be heretical if taken in particular senses. This did not satisfy the Archbishop, who required absolute submission; the two were again adjourned, and took advantage of the adjournment to abscond.[1] John Aston, an indefatigable itinerant preacher,[2] who was brought up with them, was summarily condemned and sent to gaol. He had insisted upon arguing his case in English, an offensive proceeding, as Courtenay thought, and a mere appeal to the outside mob.[3]

Blow now followed blow in quick succession; on the 13th July the Major Excommunication, with bell book and candle was uttered against Hereford and Repingdon at St. Paul's Cross.[4] On the same day a writ was issued by the Government to the Chancellor and proctors of the University of Oxford requiring them to make a 'general inquisition' for all supporters of the twenty-four Articles, and to expel them within eight days; together with all persons harbouring or holding intercourse with Wycliffe, Hereford, Repingdon or Aston; they were also required to make diligent search for 'any book or treatise edited or compiled by Wycliffe or Hereford', words clearly intended to include the translation of the Scriptures, then being executed by Wycliffe and Hereford.[5] Wycliffe himself

[1] 18 June–1 July; Fasc. Ziz. 289, 290, 319, 326; Knighton, Cont. 2655; Wilkins, Conc. III. 160–164.

[2] For details of his work and opinions, see Knighton, 2658, &c. He denounced the new Crusades as mere robbery and murder.

[3] Wilkins, sup.; Fasc. Ziz. 229, 230; June 18–20; Knighton, 2655.

[4] Wilkins, 165. This was done to impress the Londoners who supported the Lollards. They interfered on behalf of Aston; Walsingham, II. 65; Chron. Angl. 349.

[5] Foed. IV. 150; Fasc. Ziz. 312; Hereford's work on the Bible breaks off in the middle of the 20th verse of the 3rd chapter of Baruch. It must have been arrested by the persecution, probably on the 14th June, when Rugge came back from London.

CHAP. XIII 1382 had already left Oxford, and retired to end his days in his rectory at Lutterworth.[1] His comparative exemption from further persecution is a clear proof of the hold that he still retained on the hearts of his countrymen.

To assist in the work of suppressing the Wycliffites Courtenay called his clergy to Oxford, as already mentioned. They sat at St. Frithswyth's November 18–26. Aston recanted during that time; Repingdon had recanted before. But it is worth noticing that Courtenay did not entrust the proceedings against the 'heretics' to the whole representative assembly, but to a committee of bishops named by himself.[2] Hereford kept at large; went to Rome to appeal to Urban; was imprisoned for a time; and eventually reappeared in England as a Lollard preacher in 1387; at which time we shall also find Aston again incurring the censures of the Archbishop.[3] According to the Continuator of Knighton (c. 2649) Wycliffe appeared at Oxford before the Bishops, and put in a 'recantation', which is there given. The so-called recantation retracts nothing. Wycliffe always insisted that his views were the really orthodox views, and his "supreme command of the weapons of scholastic discussion" always enabled him to baffle his antagonists.[4]

The result of Courtenay's activity, however, was that within five months from the time when he set his hand to the work, the Wycliffite preachers were reduced to temporary silence, and the reformer's party at Oxford broken up and subdued. The constancy of the martyr was not to be evolved in the Fourteenth Century. But it will be seen that it was only by the help of the Government that the Lollards were repressed. "Had the Government chosen to stand aside, the bishops unaided could never have purged Oxford."[5]

[1] Dr. R. Vaughan asserts that Wycliffe left Oxford in 1381, when his lectures were stopped; Monograph, 286, 572.

[2] Wake, 313, 314; Wilkins, III. 168–172.

[3] Knighton, Cont. 2657; Wilkins, 202.

[4] Lechler, I. 697. Dr. Vaughan, Monograph, 572, accepts the view that Wycliffe appeared at Oxford; Lewis, 117, rejects it.

[5] Trevelyan, sup. 304.

London, Oxford and Leicestershire were the chief centres of the preaching missions; and the chief agents in the suppression of the itinerants were Bishops Braybroke of London, and John Buckingham of Lincoln.[1]

[1] See Wilkins, sup.; cf. the passage from Wycliffe's *Trialogus*, given by Lechler, I. 692, and Walsingham, II. 65. For the spread of Lollardism in Herefordshire, London, &c., see Trevelyan, sup. 321–332. Buckingham was consecrated 25 June 1363; Reg. Sacr.

CHAPTER XIV

Richard II (*continued*)

A. D. 1381–1383

Expedition of the Earl of Cambridge to Portugal.—Affairs of Flanders.—Crusade of the Bishop of Norwich in Flanders.

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1381

The Earl of Cambridge's experiences of campaigning with the Portuguese had not been such as to encourage a repetition of the experiment. Leaving England in the latter part of May[1] 1381 Edmund of Langley reached Lisbon late in July, with the stipulated force of 1,000 men-at-arms, partly English, partly Gascon, and as many archers. His wife the Infanta Isabel, and their son Edward, barely nine years old, accompanied him. He had good men under him, such as William Windsor, Matthew Gurney, William Beauchamp, and the celebrated Canon Robesart. But his numbers were ridiculously inadequate for the contemplated conquest of Castile, even with all the aid that Portugal could give. An unopposed landing was due to the circumstance that a Spanish fleet stationed to intercept him had just gained a signal victory over the Portuguese fleet, and, in consequence, had sailed home with their prizes. The marriage or betrothal of young Edward to Beatrix, the heiress of Portugal, a child of like years with his, was celebrated, as previously agreed, and then the English were sent into country quarters, at Estremoz and Villa Viciosa, on the Spanish March, with strict injunctions not to engage in hostilities without directions from Lisbon.[2] This state of inactivity did not suit the turbulent auxiliaries. With or without orders they attacked and took Higuera (1381) and Zafra (1382). Irregularity in the settlement of their pay supplied an excuse, if not a justification, for these and other

[1] Mon. Evesh. 22.

[2] Froissart, II. 149, 168, 178.

disorders; at last the whole force became utterly insubordinate and mutinous.[1] The Earl counted for nothing. "He could neither manage his troops nor his ally."[2] In fact all the time Ferrando was playing a double game. While amusing Edmund with preparations for war, he was arranging terms with Juan. When they had come to a sufficient understanding the two Kings marched out simultaneously, for a prearranged full-dress campaign in true mediaeval style. Ferrando advanced to Elvas, and Juan to Badajos, with only the Guadiana between them. A battlefield was solemnly marked out, but no battle came off. Negotiations were opened to which the English were not admitted. The Portuguese agreed to drop the English marriage, and accept a Castilian husband, Juan's son, for their Infanta; while the Spaniards agreed to provide shipping for the transport of the troublesome allies back to their Northern Isle.[3] Late in November the disappointed Earl and his men landed in England.[4]

Of the three alternative ways out of England's difficulties so temptingly held out by Bishop Gilbert, the one by the open door of Portugal had thus been closed; and that by way of Spain likewise might, for the time, be said to have passed out of sight. Urban's Bull, however, for the Crusade against the Clementine Count Louis was still to the good, but alas! shortly after Parliament had risen the opportunity for effective action in Flanders had also been lost.

Affairs of Flanders.

After the defeat of Beverhoutsveld Louis de Maël had fallen back on his son-in-law Philip, Duke of Burgundy, and the Duke in turn turned to his young nephew, Charles VI of France. The French Government, with some hesitation, decided on war against the schismatic, Clementine, Flemings. In the month of November (1382) a great army was

[1] Id. 179, 187; Walsingham, II. 82; and the complaints of the Spanish writer, F. Lopez, cited Pauli, II. 542.

[2] Armitage Smith, 265.

[3] Froissart, II. 191–196; Ayala, II. 157, &c.; Walsingham, II. 83. Clement VII annulled the marriage with Edward of Cambridge.

[4] Safe-conducts for the Spanish vessels going home, 27th November; Foed. IV. 156.

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concentrated at Lille. On the 18th of the month the crossing of the Lys was forced at Commines, the men of Ghent, who ought to have held the bridge, having been drawn from their post by a crossing in boats higher up the river. By the 20th November the whole French army was established on the left bank of the Lys. Ypres at once opened its gates; and the French pressed on towards Bruges. Van Artevelde, emboldened doubtless by the success of Beverhoutsfeld, hastened to the rescue of the friendly city. On the 20th November he found himself at Roosebeke, a little to the South of Bruges. Preparing for action, he arranged his men in solid triangular formation, with the apex in front, and, taking the initiative, bore down on the French who were drawn up in line, and on foot. At last the *noblesse* had condescended to take a lesson from the English gentry. The apex of the triangle pierced the French centre; but the French wings lapping round the unwieldy mass fell on its flanks and rear and hacked it to pieces. It was a repetition of the last act in the drama of Poitiers; another triumph for the thin flexible line as against the solid phalanx. A large proportion of the fallen were merely stifled, or trampled to death in the press, as at Dupplin—among them Van Artevelde, whose body was found next day under a pile of heaped-up dead without a wound upon it.[1] Thus the last of the ways of deliverance out of England's troubles was gone, and the last prop on which England had been led to rest her hopes had fallen to the ground.

But the devout English public had been excited beyond measure by the proclamation of the Crusade against the schismatics of Flanders, with the temptation of the spiritual rewards, prospective and retrospective, to be earned by participation in the holy war. The clergy beat the war drum assiduously, while pardoners pressed the sale of Indulgences. Not only could unlimited licence be purchased for the future, but even the unshriven dead could be rescued from the consequences of their sins. High and low pressed forward to seize the golden opportunity.

[1] So Froissart, II. 229, 237, 245–252, and notes; Lavisse, IV. 280.

Some men volunteered to serve at their own expense; others offered to find substitutes. Noble ladies brought jewels of gold and silver, and precious stones as offerings; one lady was said to have contributed £100. The very widows threw in their mites.[1] All holy wars are horrible. But Urban's Crusade against the Flemings must be pronounced of surpassing atrocity, in that the men whom he denounced were good Urbanists, but doomed to be put to the sword because they owed allegiance to a Clementine Count. The English Government, however, anxious for the safety of Calais, favoured the movement; shipping was ordered for the month of January 1383; and it was given out that the King would join the expedition.[2] But a Grand Council summoned to consider the matter refused to take upon themselves the responsibility of allowing Richard to sail without the sanction of Parliament—the choice of a Regent to act during his absence, it was felt, might lead to difficulties.[3]

Parliament accordingly was summoned, and met on the 22nd February. Bishop Braybroke asked the Lords and Commons to consider separately whether the King should go in person, and if not, what then should be done, considering the urgent need of succour to Ghent, now the only allied city left in Flanders.[4] The proposal that the King should take the lead was dropped, on the score of economy, Richard not being very anxious to go.[5] But the question who should have the command led to prolonged and acrimonious discussions. The Commons asked to confer with a committee of Lords named by themselves, neither of the King's uncles being put upon the list. We are told that the King protested at their omission, but submitted after protesting. The Bishop of Norwich flourished his Bulls, and demanded to be allowed to exercise the powers conferred upon him by the Holy Father. The Lords, naturally, protested against a national armament being sent abroad not under the King's

[1] Knighton, Cont. 2672; Walsingham, II. 84, 85; Eulog. III. 356, 357.
[2] Foed. IV. 158.
[3] See Rot. Parlt. III. 144.
[4] Rot. Parlt. sup.
[5] "Rex laborare nolebat;" Eulogium.

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flag, but under the flag of the Pope, and in charge of a churchman, and a man of no greater experience of warfare than Bishop Henry le Despenser; Lancaster and his party, of course, were bitterly opposed to an enterprise that competed with his pet scheme. A whole fortnight the struggle lasted. But the Commons 'whose hearts God had touched' stood resolutely by the Bishop, their chief aim evidently being to keep the King's uncles out of the business. They carried the day, and the uncontrolled management of the whole expedition was placed in Despenser's hands, together with the proceeds of a Fifteenth and Tenth, and those of Tunnage and Poundage, voted by the lieges in addition, of course, to all the freewill offerings of the faithful.[1]

Active preparation began at once. On the 17th April Despenser solemnly took the Cross at St. Paul's.[2] Arms and shipping were bespoke,[3] while preaching missions were organized from parish to parish, and the sale of pardons and Indulgences pressed with a success that moved the smiles of some and the indignation of others.[4] John Wycliffe raised his voice once more to denounce this crowning 'abomination of desolation in high places'; his protest, his last utterance on public affairs, fell unnoticed.[5] A year later he passed away at Lutterworth.[6]

The expedition as propounded by the Government, though uncalled for and extravagant, had some justification for it. But as carried out by Despenser it became a sanguinary, buccaneering raid, of the worst description, the darkest page in all the dark story of the Hundred Years' War.

The Campaign.

On Trinity Sunday (17 May) the fanatical Bishop led his van across the Channel.[7] A summons to Court at the last moment hastened his departure; he trembled lest some intrigue should deprive him of his command. As military

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 144–148; Higden, IX. 17, 18; Walsingham.
[2] Higden, 19.
[3] See Foed. IV. 158, 163–170.
[4] See Wilkins, Conc. III. 176, 177; Knighton, 2671, 2673. Walsingham, II. 72, 76, 79, 84; Eulog. III. 357.
[5] See the tract, "Crociata," written about this time; Lechler, I. 708; Lorimer, II. 280.
[6] 31 December 1384; Lewis, 133.
[7] Higden, 18; Walsingham, 88.

advisers he had with him Hugh Calverley, William Elmham, Thomas Trevet,[1] all tried captains, if the rank and file had been worthy of their lead, and if the Bishop had been disposed to take advice. But Despenser was headstrong and impatient, and his motley ranks were swelled with troops of friars, priests and monks.[2] He had undertaken to engage 3,000 men-at-arms and as many archers. But it would seem that at the last only 600 lances and 1,500 others had joined.[3]

Calverley proposed another 'ride' on French soil; but the Bishop, very properly, held that his primary duty was to take relief to the city of Ghent;[4] and so, without holding any regular muster, and without waiting for all his men to have crossed the Channel, he unfurled the Banner of the Cross and advanced to Gravelines. The townspeople closing their gates, an immediate assault was ordered. After an attack of twenty-four hours' duration the place was taken, and sacked, in true crusading style, all combatants being put to the sword.[5]

This unprovoked outrage threw all Flanders into a state of consternation. The Count, who was at Lille, sent hastily to demand explanations; he was at peace with England; had received no declaration of war; and he and his subjects were quite inclined to the cause of Urban. After some shuffling the Bishop answered that he held his commission from the Pope, and not from the King of England; that maritime Flanders held of the *Duchesse de Bar*, who was a well-known Clementine; all who would join hands with him, and declare themselves Urbanists, would be spared; against all others he would wage resolute war.[6]

On to Dunkerque the Bishop led his men, the Banner of the Keys fluttering overhead.[7] Dunkerque was again

[1] Foed. IV. 172.

[2] "Grand foison y avoit de prêtres;" Froissart, II. 267. "Cum sacerdotibus et falsis religiosis;" Eulog. III. 357.

[3] So Froissart. He is seldom below the mark in figures.

[4] Rot. Parlt. III. 154; Froissart, 268.

[5] 20 May; Higden, IX. 19; Walsingham. [6] So Froissart, II. 270, 271.

[7] "La banniere de St. Pierre de gueules a deux clefs d'argent en sautoir;" Froissart.

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taken by storm and treated much as Gravelines had been treated.[1]

On the afternoon of the next day, as the Bishop was at supper, the approach of a large force was reported. The English turned out without a moment's delay. The archers skirmished in front, while Calverley dressed his slender line behind. At the end of the day the clericals claimed to have wrought wonders in their faith and zeal; as many as sixteen schismatics, it was said, might have been seen laid low by one single arm. But, on the whole, the arrow, which found an easy mark in the massed levies of half-armed Flemings, was admitted to have done most work. Only seven Englishmen were said to have fallen as against 'thousands' on the other side. Flushed with this success the Bishop styled himself the Conqueror of West Flanders.[2] Bergues, Bourbourg, Cassel, Poperinghe successively fell into the hands of the invaders.[3] On the 8th June they attacked Ypres; the suburbs were carried, but the inner fortifications held out, and the impatient Bishop had to submit to the tedium of a siege.[4]

On both sides the war now began to enlarge its bounds. An auxiliary army came up from Ghent, while Despenser's numbers were inconveniently swelled by volunteers from home. Every servant and apprentice who could give his master the slip took the Cross; free passages being provided by Philpot, who had charge of the Subsidy. At last the Bishop begged to be spared any further reinforcements.[5] On the other hand the French were arming in answer to appeals from the Count. On the 2nd August Charles VI took the Oriflamme from Saint-Denis; the 15th of the month was appointed for a general muster at Arras.[6]

[1] Sunday, 24 May; Mon. Evesh. 45; Walsingham, II. 90.

[2] 25 May. See the very turgid narrative of Walsingham, 90–93; Mon. Evesh. 45; and Chron. London. The Eulogium, III. 357, makes much less of the affair.

[3] Knighton, C. 2671; Froissart, II. 274, 275; Meyer, cited Sismondi, 425.

[4] Mon. Evesh. 46; Froissart, 275; Grandes Chroniques de Flandres, cited Wallon, 'Richard II,' I. 182.

[5] Walsingham, 95, 96; Froissart.

[6] Chron. Saint-Denys, cited Sismondi, XI. 426; Froissart, 277.

Meanwhile the English assaults on the walls of Ypres failing, Despenser had recourse to his spiritual artillery, and excommunicated the city. From his anathema the burghers appealed to their lawful Pontiff, Urban VI, in whose name the Bishop had banned them. On the 8th August a last assault was given; two days later the Crusaders raised the siege, and fell back on Bergues and Bourbourg,[1] the rapid concentration of the French forces at Arras making it unsafe to tarry longer. Charles VI pressed on them with a most imposing array of forces. The reluctant Duke of Brittany[2] had been obliged to bring his quota with de Clisson at their head. The Counts of Savoy and Geneva, the Dukes of Bar, Lorraine and Bavaria brought foreign contingents in aid of the native levies. To do the English justice their conduct, bad as it had been, was not so bad as that of the French. Whatever the English had spared the French destroyed. De Clisson and the Bretons again distinguished themselves in this work.[3]

Advancing by Saint-Omer and Cassel the French appeared before Bergues on the 7th September. Calverley, seeing that the place was untenable, retreated in the night to join Despenser at Gravelines. Next day the French entered Bergues, and put the unresisting population to the sword.[4] From Bergues the French turned to Bourbourg (14 September), where a third garrison had been left under Trevet, Elmham and William Faringdon. They repulsed a general assault with such spirit that the Duke of Brittany was enabled to come forward as a mediator. Through his efforts a capitulation was signed, by which the English in Bourbourg were allowed to retire to Calais, with horses arms and all

[1] Grandes Chroniques de Flandres, sup.; Froissart, II. 279; Walsingham, II. 98–100; Mon. Evesh. 47.

[2] John had married Joan Holland, half-sister of King Richard, as his second wife. She had been in England shortly before; Foed. VII. 404.

[3] Froissart, 279–281. The Saint-Denis writer heard that the French had 16,000 men-at-arms. Ayala, II. 185, gives the French 8,000 knights 'with gilt spurs' and 8,000 "escuderos de honor". He assigns 1,600 "lanzas" to the English.

[4] Froissart, 281–283; Sismondi, XI. 428, citing the Saint-Denys Chronique and Meyer.

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their effects;[1] the French even agreeing to pay them 2,000 gold 'francs' for stores that they could not remove.[2]

One stage more brought Charles to the walls of Gravelines, the Bishop's last foothold in Flanders. But precarious as that footing might seem to be, the French were most anxious to dispossess him of it, and not over-confident as to their ability to do so by force. They offered him 15,000 'francs' to dismantle the place and retire to Calais. A general truce was also offered as a stepping-stone to peace.[3] Despenser accepted the truce, and sent home to say that unless promptly relieved he must abandon his enterprise. Richard received the message at Daventry, at supper-time; and, in one of his spasmodic fits of energy, galloped straight to London.[4] A night's rest at Westminster gave time for reflection, and in the morning the King came to the conclusion that the command of any reliefs for Flanders might be left to John of Gaunt, who in fact had already been appointed King's Lieutenant for Flance and Flanders.[5] He was instructed to hasten his departure; but before he was ready to sail the Bishop had evacuated Gravelines and returned to England.[6]

[1] Thursday, 17 September, Meyer, sup. and Saint-Denys; Walsingham, II. 100–102; Mon. Evesh. 47, 48; Froissart.

[2] Rot. Parlt. III. 157. [3] Id. 156.

[4] The distance is 72½ miles; Richard took a fresh horse at St. Albans, but it was never returned.

[5] Foed. VII. 407.

[6] Walsingham, II. 202–204. Mr. Oman, Pol. Hist. IV. 85, gives the date as 29 September, citing Wrong, 'Crusade of 1383.'

CHAPTER XV

Richard II (*continued*)

A.D. 1383, 1384

Parliament.—Crusaders called to Account.—Relations with Scotland.—Parliament.—Commons inclined for Peace.—Court and City Factions.—The King, John of Gaunt, and Archbishop Courtenay.

The national mortification and indignation at the shipwreck of the Crusade was greatly aggravated by the reports that the leaders had made money by selling their strongholds—rank treachery. In fact the conventions were not only justifiable according to all the laws of war, but actually creditable to the English captains, who had got out of most critical situations with all the honours of war and something more. But the campaign had been a failure, and that was enough to condemn them.

Parliament.

On the 26th October Parliament met at Westminster; and again in the capricious politics of the time we find the proceedings led by a new Chancellor. Bishop Braybroke, appointed 20th September 1382, had been dismissed on the 10th March 1383, in consequence, it was supposed, of a quarrel with the Duke of Lancaster. The Seal was then given to Michael, Lord de la Pole, who, in November 1381, had been appointed Governor of the King's person, in conjunction with the Earl of Arundel. He must therefore at that time have had the confidence of Parliament. He had served on repeated campaigns abroad; had been Admiral of the Northern Fleet; and recently had been on diplomatic missions to Rome and Milan. But, from the first, he had been a follower of the House of Lancaster,[1] and his promotion to the Chancery indicated that John of Gaunt was again coming to the front.

[1] See Foss, Judges, IV. 5, 70, 71. Michael had seen his first service under the Good Duke in 1355.

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The Chancellor asked for a Subsidy on the ground of the uncertain disposition of the Scots, who had refused to prolong the truce beyond the 2nd February 1384;[1] he reminded the lieges that 'this little realm of England' had to deal with Spain and France as well as Scotland; and that Flanders was newly added to the list of her adversaries,[2] as if in each and every case England had not been signally the aggressor!

The Commons agreed to give a Fifteenth and Tenth to be raised by moieties, and to continue Tunnage and Poundage to Michaelmas 1384, on certain conditions; one being that the clergy should make a corresponding grant; while another was that the Bishop of Norwich and his captains should be called to account for their unexpired term of service, and for the moneys improperly received by them from the enemy, alleged to amount to 18,000 gold 'francs'.[3]

The Commons had been deceived in the Bishop, and, as usually happens in such cases, considered that they had been deceived by him.[4] He was formally impeached in Parliament in the King's presence: he was charged with having received 10,000 francs for the surrender of Gravelines: he had refused to receive a King's Lieutenant as required by the King: he had never sent in a proper muster roll: and he had come home in less than six months, instead of serving for twelve months as stipulated. Despenser positively denied having received any money, but it was proved that a sum of 5,000 francs had been placed in the hands of his treasurer at Gravelines; and that after his departure from Gravelines another sum of 5,000 francs had been delivered to Henry Ferrers on his behalf. After

[1] An extension of the truce to that date had been negotiated on the 12th July by John of Gaunt; Foed. VII. 403; Rot. Scot. II. 27, &c. On the 20th August Robert II ratified a treaty with France, for operation against England; Foed. IV. 167; VII. 406.

[2] "Ce petit Roialme d'Engleterre;" Rot. Parlt. III. 149, 150.

[3] Rot. Parlt. 151. The Canterbury Convocation met 2nd December and "made a grant of two half-tenths, the one absolute, the other conditional". They also deliberated upon "another grant demanded on behalf of the Pope"; Wake, 316.

[4] Trevelyan, sup. 272.

repeated hearings and rehearings the lay Peers held that the Bishop's excuses were insufficient, and sentenced him to 'fine and ransom' at the King's pleasure, pending the settlement of the amount, his temporalities would be taken into hand.[1]

When the Bishop's case was disposed of, the subordinates, Elmham, Trevet, Henry Ferrers, William Faringdon and Robert Fitz Ralph, who had received 8,000 francs between them, threw themselves on the King's mercy; their excuse was that they had merely taken money for doing that which they could not help doing; but de la Pole pointed out that it was contrary to reason to suppose that prudent men, like the French, would have paid all that money if they had not been pretty sure of getting some equivalent 'backhand'. All were 'amerced' like the Bishop, and in the meantime sent to the Tower.[2] On the 26th November Parliament rose.

It would seem that during the sittings of this Parliament considerable dissensions broke out between the King and the Peers, the latter complaining that Richard kept aloof from the leaders of the nation, taking counsel only of his favourites, and acting for himself. The King we are told answered them in a very uncompromising spirit.[3]

But at last both Government and Parliament were beginning to show a more pacific disposition, at any rate towards France. On the 4th November Lancaster had been authorized to meet the Dukes of Berri and Brittany and the Count of Flanders.[4] The plenipotentiaries met between Calais and Boulogne with little loss of time. But the pretensions of the two adversaries were as irreconcilable as ever. After much keen discussion a truce was signed to

[1] "En la mercy le roi"; Rot. Parlt. III. 152–156. The Bishop protested against being tried by the lay Peers, the Chancellor retorted that he might well have been tried as a 'temporal person', as he habitually demeaned himself as such; particularly by having a sword carried before him, but that in fact he was tried under his special contract with the King. The Bishop was eventually pardoned and reinstated, 24 October 1385; Foed. VII. 479.

[2] Rot. Parlt. 157, 158; Foed. VII. 424, and Froissart.

[3] Higden, IX. 26.

[4] Foed. The patent was sealed in Parliament.

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This offer was doubtless taken for what it was worth. The English probably knew that the French had lured the Scots into acceptance of a treaty under which the French pledged themselves to supply the Scots with 1,000 men-at-arms, 1,000 suits of armour, and 40,000 francs in gold, all to be delivered by the month of May (1384);[2] while the English themselves were quite prepared to draw the sword. In fact the King had said as much at the opening of Parliament.[3]

Since the death of Edward III the Scots had taken every advantage of the weakness of the English Government. Their excuse would be that they could never rest while Lochmaben in the West and Roxburgh in the East were in English hands.[4] On the 12th January (1384) the Earl of Northumberland was directed to press for immediate payment of the arrears of King David's ransom, amounting to 24,000 marks; failing satisfaction he was to renew the old demand for homage, under penalty of a resumption of hostilities at the expiration of the truce.[5]

The Scots took Richard at his word. On the 4th February, two days after the expiration of the truce, Lochmaben surrendered to Archibald Douglas of Galloway.[6] John of Gaunt was ordered to take the field at once.[7] Mass levies were summoned from the Eastern and Western Marches; the Earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, and all the

[1] Lelinghem, 26 January 1384; Foed. VII. 414–423; Froissart, II. 291. On the 13th February a safe conduct was sealed for French envoys to pass through England to Scotland.

[2] Foed. 406.

[3] Rot. Parlt. III. 129. Scottish envoys had appeared at the close of the session, but were dismissed with little satisfaction; Walsingham, II. 109. Safe conduct for Robert of Dalry, 18 December; Rot. Scot.; also Higden, IX. 27.

[4] The Scots had partly destroyed Wark Castle in the summer, but they agreed to pay for the restoration; Foed. 403; Walsingham, 105.

[5] The receipts which had been sent to the Earl were sent back to be cancelled, no money having been paid; Rot. Scot. II. 57, 59; Excheq. Rolls, Scotland, III. lvii.

[6] Fordun, 383; Scotichr. II. 397; Higden, 28.

[7] 3 March; Rot. Scot. sup.

Northern magnates joined the Duke; but, as at this very time writs were issued for a Parliament to be held at Salisbury in April, the campaign was foredoomed to a speedy close.

Lancaster eventually crossed the Border about the 4th April.[1] His leisurely advance gave people time to remove everything, to the very thatch on their houses, a precautionary measure that was adopted even by the citizens of Edinburgh. But the Duke retained a grateful sense of the hospitality that he had received in 1382; and he agreed in consideration of a money 'ransom' to keep his men from committing unnecessary damage; and, accordingly, both Holyrood and Melrose were spared. But the weather was most inclement,[2] and the English had to suffer without retaliating. In ten days' time John led his grumbling discontented host back across the Border.[3] On the 23rd April he was still at Durham, and came to a final agreement with Percy, committing the defence of the Marches to him.[4] That done, he rode off to attend the Parliament at Salisbury. This incident illustrates the weakness of a system under which the same men were expected to take the lead both in war and politics. But the military and the political institutions of England at this time really belonged to different stages of civilization.

Meanwhile Lancaster's lax prosecution of the war enabled the Scots to recover Teviotdale, where the people since the Battle of Neville's Cross had been living 'at the peace' of the King of England; they now returned to 'the peace' of their own natural King, Robert II.[5] Thus, apart from Berwick, Roxburgh and Jedburgh were the only holds in Scotland retained by the English.

Parliament.

The Sarum Parliament had been summoned partly to advise the King on the matter of making peace with France; partly to obtain payment of the second moiety of the Subsidy voted by the last Parliament, which had been

[1] Scotichr. II. 398; Knighton, 2674; Walsingham, II. 111.
[2] "Superveniente nive et intolerabili frigore;" Walsingham.
[3] 10 April; Id. Wyntoun, II. 320; Mon. Evesh. 50; Higden, IX. 32.
[4] Foed. VII. 425.
[5] Wyntoun, II. 322; Scotichr. 400; Acts Parlt. Scot. I. 188.

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made exigible only in the event of the continuance of actual war.[1]

On the general question of peace or war the Commons gave a clearer indication of feeling than they had done for many years. After conferring with a committee of Lords named by themselves—among whom were William of Wykeham, Lancaster, Cambridge, and Buckingham—they said that if peace could be had with honour, it would be to them 'the greatest comfort in the world that man could devise'.[2] But the homage was still the difficulty; the French would recognize no English possessions in France except subject to homage. 'What had the Commons to say to that?' asked the Chancellor. The lieges admitted that, apart from Guienne, it seemed hard to have to render homage for Calais, and other places actually won by the sword; 'unless there was no other way out of the difficulty.' Once more the Chancellor demanded an answer; assuming that homage was the necessary price to be paid for peace, what would the Commons do if they were in the King's place? The Ministers, or the Court, were anxious to saddle the responsibility of the final decision upon Parliament. But the leaders of the Commons were quite alive to the dangers of their situation. Determined not to be made the scapegoat of either of the court parties, they answered firmly that they had been given to understand that the Lords Spiritual and Temporal had been asked the same question, and that their answer was, that, without presuming to give 'counsel or advice' either way, their inclinations were towards peace rather than war. By that answer, the Commons said, they wished to stand.[3] But whether peace came or war it was felt that a Subsidy must be granted, as the King declared that a final peace could never be ratified without a personal meeting between the two sovereigns, which would involve considerable expenditure. Accordingly, the conditional half Subsidy of the last session was

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 166.

[2] "La pluis noble et graciouse eide et confort que homme purroit en monde deviser"; Id. 167, 170.

[3] Ibid.

made absolute, to be raised at Michaelmas; while another half Subsidy was conceded to be collected at Lady Day (25 March) 1385, if the war should be resumed, and provided always that the clergy should make corresponding grants.[1]

It is probable that in these discussions the peace party had the support of John of Gaunt, who wished to keep the resources of the nation for the prosecution of his private schemes in Castile; and his faint-hearted conduct of the Scottish war may be ascribed to the same reason.[2]

According to the official records the proceedings of the session were quiet enough. But in fact some very ominous incidents happened. In the first place we hear of angry dissensions between laity and clergy, evidently provoked by the stipulation of the Commons that their grant should be met by one from the Church.[3] Then it appears that the Chancellor de la Pole was impeached, first before the Commons, and then before the Lords, for having agreed to take a bribe to expedite a suit in Chancery. Pole swore that the arrangement, which had not been carried out, had been suggested by his clerk, without his knowledge; and his accuser, John Cavendish, a London Free Fishmonger, was eventually condemned to fine and imprisonment for defamation.[4]

Chancellor impeached.

The attack on the Chancellor was evidently connected with the battle then raging between the Free Fishmongers and the London public to which we shall revert. But apart from corruption, which was doubtless still too common, if the Chancellor sided with the public against the Fishmongers our sympathies should be with him. Other incidents imply that in the endeavour to reform the administration he had incurred the enmity of powerful interests. The Bishop of Durham[5] protested against a threatened curtailment of his franchises—the end for which Edward I had striven so long, and so unsuccessfully;

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 167. Both Convocations met, and granted half Tenths; Wake, 317.

[2] So Froissart, II. 298.

[3] Higden, IX. 33.

[4] See Rot. Parlt. 168, &c.

[5] John Fordham, consecrated 5 January 1382.

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while John Holland complained of the cancelling of some grants made to him by the King.[1]

Scenes in Parliament.

According to one writer the session witnessed a violent and apparently unprovoked attack on the King by the Earl of Arundel, as if in continuation of the scenes of the last session. He declared that Richard's Ministers were incapable, and that through their fault the country was going to the dogs. Richard, losing his temper, called the Earl a liar, and told him to go to the devil. After a pause John of Gaunt rose and succeeded in restoring peace.[2]

The King and Lancaster.

But the most serious incident was a charge of high treason, and conspiring the King's death preferred against John of Gaunt by one John Latimer, an Irish Carmelite. The Friar placed his deposition in the King's own hands, in the chamber of the Earl of Oxford, swearing to the truth of it. While Richard was taking counsel of his private advisers Lancaster came in, and demanded that his accuser should be placed in safe custody, till he could be confronted with the witnesses to whom he had appealed—namely Lord de la Zouche of Haringworth and an Oxfordshire 'squire'. The Earl of Buckingham behaved with great violence towards the King, and told him that he would make an end of any man who ventured to accuse his brother of disloyalty. According to Malvern (Higden) Richard bellowed with maniacal fury at being thwarted, throwing his cloak and shoes out of the window; subsiding, however, he surrendered Latimer into the hands of John Holland, the man suggested by the Duke. Latimer disappeared, never to be seen again. Report said that he had been done to death by torture too foul to be told. The object was probably to elicit information as to his abettors, the men behind him; if so his torturers were disappointed, as the unfortunate man revealed nothing.[3]

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 177.

[2] So Malvern (Higden, IX. 32), the only writer who has this incident.

[3] Walsingham, II. 112–115; Chron. Angl. 359; Mon. Evesh. 50–52. The last suggests that the Friar was insane. John Holland and Henry Green are named as the murderers. Miracles were wrought at Latimer's tomb. See also the fuller account, Higden, 33–40, where again it is suggested that the Carmelite was mad. The writer, Malvern, had his information from John Clanvowe, an influential member of the Privy Council, and a Lollard.

If Latimer's revelations were prompted by the King and his young friends the Earls of Oxford[1] and Nottingham,[2] it was a clumsy and childish attempt to get rid of John of Gaunt. On the other hand it is just possible that a devoted and hare-brained loyalist might feel inspired to come forward to lend a hand to rid the King of the incubus of his domineering uncle. The one safe conclusion to be drawn from these painful occurrences is that the Court circle was out of hand, and torn by faction and intrigue.

Parliament having shown such an unmistakable wish for peace, on the last day of the session (27 May) Lancaster and Buckingham were authorized to treat for peace with Flanders and France.[3] Some days later the Northern magnates were authorized to arrange an interim truce with the Scots, to facilitate negotiations for peace.[4] All the powers interested, namely, France, England, Scotland and Castile were duly represented at the conferences that ensued at Leulinghem (August-September). But the French were beginning to raise their heads again, and the English were greatly disconcerted by the firmness of their tone; a paltry renewal of the truce to the 1st May 1385 was all that Lancaster could obtain; and this, under the circumstances, amounted to a prospective declaration of war.[5]

Parliament.

This disappointing intelligence was laid before another Parliament that met at Westminster on the 12th November. The only thing that the Chancellor could say to cheer the lieges was that the King had graciously made up his mind to face the labour and discomfort of a personal campaign; and that he would go whithersoever his Council should advise him to go. Parliament thankfully acknowledged this readiness on the King's part, and, in consideration of his first 'voyage', agreed to confirm the conditional half

[1] Robert de Vere IV, born 1362.

[2] Thomas Mowbray of Axholm, who succeeded his brother John, Earl of Nottingham, as Baron Mowbray of Axholm 10 February 1383, and three days later was created Earl of Nottingham by Richard; Doyle.

[3] Foed. VII. 428, 429; the instructions were sealed in Parliament.

[4] Foed. 431: on the 7th July a truce was signed to the 1st October; Id. 434, Rot. Scot., &c.

[5] 14 September; Foed. 438–443; Walsingham, II. 115.

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Subsidy granted by the last Parliament; and to give another half Subsidy to be raised at Midsummer[1] (1385). An attempt to make these grants again dependent on the concession of corresponding grants by the clergy elicited so vigorous a protest from Archbishop Courtenay, that the King immediately ordered the obnoxious stipulation to be expunged.[2]

The last days of the session were troubled by the news that the Scots, notwithstanding the truce, had again managed to seize Berwick Castle. A small band of nameless adventurers had scaled it by night. Lancaster promptly raised his voice to condemn the Earl of Northumberland, who had thus a second time failed in his duty. A formal vote of censure, if not of forfeiture, was passed upon the Earl. Percy hurried off to retrieve his laurels, and soon recovered Berwick. But it was said that to save time he gave the Scots 2,000 marks to march out.[3]

The unsuccessful struggle for the emancipation of the fish trade in London involved further incidents suggestive of a general state of chaos. In October 1382 John Comberton of Northampton, commonly called John Northampton, a strong free-trader, having been elected Mayor for the second time, the trade in fish was thrown open to all the world.[4] A year later the measure was repealed, the Fishmongers having got the upper hand, and their champion, Nicholas Brembre, having been elected Mayor, somewhat irregularly, and in fact through the King's improper intervention.[5] As Pole was attacked by the Fishmongers he must have been a free-trader; so that we have the comic situation of the King and the Chancellor taking opposite sides in a keenly contested party struggle. The state of

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 184, 185.

[2] Wake, 317, and Appendix, 77. The Archbishop having been satisfied on this point Convocation gave two half-Tenths; Id. and Wilkins, III. 185.

[3] Higden, IX. 50, 52; Walsingham, II. 118; Fordun, 382. The Earl received a full pardon from the King 18th February 1385; Foed. VII. 463.

[4] Rot. Parlt. 141; Statutes, II. 28; Chron. Lond. 75; Riley, Memorials, 481.

[5] Statutes, 30; Higden, 30; Rot. Parlt. 225–227.

the atmosphere was so electric that the slightest incident might provoke a storm. On the 7th February (1384) the Earl of Nottingham, being at dinner with Northampton, asked him to arrange for a procession to the Carmelites in Fleet Street on the 10th of the month, the anniversary of his brother, who had been buried there just a year before. Northampton agreed, and brought such a troop that Brembre, treating it as a breach of the peace, arrested him; and the King, backing him up, sent the ex-Mayor to Corfe Castle. Next day Northampton's friends attempted to get up a riot on his behalf; the movement was crushed; and the leader, one John Constantine, a cordwainer, was executed off-hand.[1] A more peaceful struggle ensued, Northampton's friends pressing for his liberation, and his enemies searching for evidence to justify his imprisonment. At last one Thomas Hush, who had acted as Northampton's secretary, was induced to formulate a set of monstrous charges against his old employer. On the 18th August Northampton was brought before the King in Council at Reading, when he rejected the charges brought against him with scorn. Not content with that, he ventured to submit that he was Lancaster's 'man'; and that he ought not to be put on trial in his lord's absence. Richard, beside himself with fury at this rejection of his authority, would have sent the ex-Mayor to immediate execution, had not the Queen, who was always with him, fallen on her knees and begged the man's life.[2] Further disturbances, however, ensued in London in connexion with Northampton's detention, for which John More, late Sheriff, and one Norbury were arrested. Richard proposed to have these men together with Northampton tried before him at Westminster. But Tresilian refused to pass judgement on them, maintaining that the jurisdiction appertained to the Mayor. Accordingly, on the 10th September the three were arraigned in the Tower, before John Montagu the Steward of the Household, Tresilian, Belknap and the hostile Mayor Brembre. Feeling their case hopeless with such a tribunal the unfor-

[1] Riley, Memorials, 482; Higden, IX. 30, 31.

[2] Higden, sup.

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tunate men threw themselves upon the King's mercy, and Montagu passed sentence accordingly. Then de la Pole made a dramatic entrance into the chamber, and announced a gracious remission by the King of the capital sentence; meanwhile the three would be sent severally to Corfe, Nottingham and Tintagel, and all their goods confiscated.[1]

Here again we seem to have the King and the Chancellor pulling the one against the other; we may also notice the nice technical scruple on the question of jurisdiction in connexion with proceedings involving most gross perversion of justice.

The year 1385 opened amid rumours of impending invasion from abroad, and actual dissensions at home. Again were the King and his young favourites charged with compassing the death of John of Gaunt.[2] Putting together the scraps of information to be gathered from the chroniclers we hear of a Council held at Waltham after Christmas,[3] at which the Duke infuriated the King by taxing him with sluggishness, if not poltroonery, in shirking war, and risking an invasion of England, instead of leading his armies abroad to forestall the enemy. A tournament had been appointed to be held on the 13th and 14th days of February, within the area of Westminster Hall. In that convenient locality an opportunity would be found for seizing the Duke, who would be arraigned of High Treason; Tresilian might be depended on for passing any sentence required. The tournament was held, but the secret had oozed out, and Lancaster, warned in time, fled to Pontefract.[4] Ten days later he reappeared in force on the banks of the Thames, at Twickenham, opposite Sheen, i.e. Richmond, where the King was. Leaving the bulk of his men on the Middlesex shore, and crossing with only an escort sufficient for his personal safety, he entered the Royal presence in

[1] Higden, IX. 47–50. In 1390 Northampton was set free at Lancaster's intercession, Id. 238; and the judgement passed on him reversed, Rot. Parlt. III. 282, 291. For the episode from a different point of view see Trevelyan, sup. 278. He accepts the official version.

[2] "Instinctu juvenum qui cum rege fuerant nutriti;" Chron. Angl., 364.

[3] Mon. Ev. 57.

[4] Higden, 55, 56; Walsingham, II. 126; Chron. Angl., sup.

full armour, a most improper proceeding, and then, having made due obeisance, proceeded to lecture Richard on his misgovernment, and his base attempt on his uncle's life. The King endeavoured to put him off with smooth words and fair promises, but the Duke declared that until he saw the King in better hands he must not be expected to attend court; and therewith marched off to Hertford Castle, where he took up an independent position. But the Princess of Wales, distracted at hearing of the breach between her son and his uncles, hastened to come forward; through her efforts Richard and Lancaster were induced to meet and make friends at Westminster on the 6th March, in the midst of a concourse of magnates, and Lancaster, at the King's request, made friends with the men whom he regarded with most suspicion, namely the Earls of Salisbury, Oxford and Nottingham, with others not named.[1]

The next thing was a breach between the King and Archbishop Courtenay. On the 15th January Richard had addressed a writ to him requesting him to summon another Convocation, to meet before Mid-Lent (12th March Mid-Lent Sunday). "The Archbishop being concerned at this, used all Possible Endeavours to divert the King from Calling another *Convocation* so soon after the foregoing. He wrote to Him with Great Earnestness to Withdraw his *Writ*: He acquainted him how they had been forced to Refuse any Contribution to the Pope till after the time of their Grant to himself should be Expired. He shewed him that nothing New was offered to induce the *Clergy* to any further *Grant* which had not been Considered by them before. He wrote, in like manner, to the *Chancellor*, and *Treasurer*; to the *King's Confessor*, the Bishop of *Llandaff*; and to the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, and *Exeter*, who were then at Court; Exhorting them to do what they could to persuade the *King* off from this *Convocation*." But Richard stuck to his purpose, and, not only required the two Archbishops to call their clergy together, but also named the days for their meetings, a breach of constitutional

[1] Higden, IX. 56–58; Walsingham and Chron. Angl., sup.

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etiquette, which required the choice of the days to be left to the Archbishops.[1] Courtenay obeyed, so far as to summon his Convocation, but not for the day named by the King, but for another day; while he himself did not condescend to appear, and so nothing was done. We also hear at this time of a remonstrance to the King, on the arbitrary and unconstitutional ways of his government, presented by the archbishops and other lords.[2] The Memorial seems to have been preserved and is in print; very moderate in tone, but pointing clearly to every kind of irregularity in the acts and proceedings of the King.[3] Of course Richard was enraged beyond measure. Our best authority gives a graphic account of a meeting on the Thames between the King and Courtenay, the latter being on his way to Court, under the safe conduct of the Earl of Buckingham; Richard actually drew his sword on the Archbishop, and when checked laid about him so frantically that his attendants had to jump into the Archbishop's barge to get out of his reach. Courtenay for some time actually had to go into hiding.[4]

[1] See Wake, 317, and the authorities there cited; also Wilkins, III. 185.

[2] Higden, IX. 59.

[3] See Proceedings Privy Council, I. 84. The document was penned before the month of December 1385, when the Earl of Oxford was made Marquis of Dublin.

[4] Higden (Malvern), 58, 59; Walsingham and Mon. Evesh., sup. The Primate was not restored to favour till the next Parliament met, and then he had to beg pardon of the King on his knees, to the great disgust of the chronicler; Higden, 79, 80.

CHAPTER XVI

Richard II (*continued*)

A.D. 1385, 1386

Foreign Affairs.—French troops sent to Scotland.—Richard invades Scotland.—Affairs of Flanders.—Philip Duke of Burgundy becomes Count of Flanders.—Expedition of John of Gaunt to Castile.—Abortive preparations for invasion of England by France.

With regard to the rumours of impending invasion large armaments no doubt had been gathering at Sluys for an attack on England from the latter part of 1384.[1] But the expedition hung fire, and the bulk of it was eventually diverted to another quarter, as we shall see. But the country was much alarmed, and the Government not being prepared for war, John Bangor, the Bishop of Hereford was sent over in March to try for some new arrangement with France.[2] An extension of the truce for two months, that is to say from the 1st May to the 1st July, and that by land only, and not by sea, was all that he could obtain.[3]

The French acted fully up to their engagements under the Franco-Scottish treaty of 1383. The truce by sea having expired a force of at least 1,000 picked men-at-arms under Jean de Vienne, Admiral of France, with a liberal supply of arms, and a subvention of 50,000 francs in gold was sent from Sluys to Leith.[4] Robert II was in the North; but some of his sons were within reach, and they and the Earls of Douglas and Moray [5] took charge of the strangers

[1] Lavisse, and above, 218.

[2] 4 March; Foed. VII. 466.

[3] Walsingham, II. 127.

[4] Fordun, I. 383; Froissart, II. 308, 328; Wyntoun; Foed. VII. 484. Of the 50,000 francs King Robert received 10,000 as his share; the Heir Apparent had 5,000, the Earl of Douglas 7,000, and the other Scottish barons in proportion. Richard had probably heard of the sailing of de Vienne by the 15th May when he suspended the collection of the half Subsidy payable at Midsummer to enable the people to arm; Foed. 471.

[5] Douglas was James, son of William the first Earl; Moray was John Dunbar, second son of Patrick Earl of March; Excheq. Rolls Scotland, II. lxxxi.

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till all was ready for a campaign. The King, who is described as a stout easy-going man, with red goggle eyes, and shaggy eyebrows,[1] was a man of peace; but his sons were all for war, and accordingly the Franco-Scottish force took the field about the beginning of July. Carham, Wark and Ford on Tweed were captured, and an inroad pushed as far as Morpeth. There the invaders halted. The English were reported to be on the move, and so the Scots, who were determined not to venture on any pitched battle, dragged their reluctant allies back to the Border. But in order to leave the way clear for the English, who might be expected to enter Scotland by way of Jedburgh and Galashiels, the allies crossed over to the Western Marches, there to bide their time, and the reward of their folly.[2]

On the 4th June Richard issued writs for a grand muster at Newcastle:[3] the 14th July was the day named; and the numbers that appeared in honour of the King's first appearance in the field were unprecedented. So say the chroniclers; and the muster rolls, which fortunately have been preserved, bear out the assertion. From them we learn that this extraordinary muster, estimated at from 100,000 to 300,000 men, comprised about 4,590 men-at-arms, and 9,144 archers, exclusive of the contingents of the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham.[4] But the reader must be aware that according to our estimates of English armies at the period a total of 13,734 effectives was indeed a most unusual turnout.

But before Newcastle was reached the host was troubled by a gross deed of blood. The King's half-brother John Holland, the man who had tortured the unfortunate Carmelite to death, again disgraced himself by killing an innocent young nobleman of twenty in a fit of passion.

[1] "Un grand bon homme à rouges yeux rebraciés; ils sembloient forrés de sendail"; Froissart, II. 329.

[2] Froissart, 330; A. Wyntoun, II. 324; Scotichr. II. 401.

[3] Foed. VII. 473.

[4] See Walsingham, II. 129, and Mon. Evesh. 61; comparing the Muster Roll MS. Cott. Nero D. VI. 91, printed by Mr. Armitage Smith, "John of Gaunt," 295, 437. Lancaster furnished about one-third of the whole force.

On the 16th July a brawl broke out at York between two esquires in Holland's retinue and two grooms (*valets*) in the service of the Earl of Stafford, in which the esquires were killed. The grooms having taken sanctuary, the mob would have dragged them out, but Richard, hastening forward, insisted on respect for the rights of the Church. Holland then turned to the King, who promised him redress, at the same time charging him expressly not to take the law into his own hands. But, unfortunately, Holland going out to his quarters outside York, met young Lord Stafford, the Earl's son; words ensued, and Holland, losing self-control, killed the lad. Richard was beside himself with grief at the loss of one of his boy-friends, and swore that whatever happened Holland should be punished as a common murderer. But Holland promptly retired into the wilds of Lancashire.[1]

A deed of Blood.

The unfortunate Princess of Wales, heartbroken at the ceaseless troubles and discords of the Royal family, and the misconduct of her sons, died not long afterwards, namely on the 7th or 8th August, at Wallingford.[2]

On the 6th August Richard unfurled his standard on hostile soil.[3] The army, as usual, advanced in three 'battles'; van guard, middle ward and rear guard, the main body being covered by wings on each side. Lancaster, with Buckingham as Constable, and Nottingham as Marshal,[4] led the van. The King in the main body had with him the Earls of Cambridge, Arundel, Warwick, Stafford, Oxford and Salisbury, together with the Chancellor, Treasurer and Privy Seal; while the Earls of Northumberland and Devon, with the Barons Neville, Clifford, and de la Zouche had charge of the rear. It is interesting to note that "to prevent the factions of politics being carried into the field in the several

[1] See Malvern, Higden, IX. 61, 62; the only real account, cf. Walsingham and Mon. Evesh., sup.

[2] Walsingham, II. 130; Mon. Evesh. 63, &c.; and for the date Inquis. Post Mortem, 9 Rich. II. No. 54.

[3] Higden, 63.

[4] Thomas of Woodstock was appointed Constable of England, 10 July 1376; Nottingham was only appointed Marshal on the 30th June 1385; Doyle.

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divisions" friends and foes were mixed up together.[1] To hallow the expedition, and give it a Crusading character, the fighting Bishop of Norwich with his Cross was attached to the van.[2]

Titled Honours.

In honour of the day a grand distribution of titled honours took place. The Earl of Cambridge was created Duke of York; the Earl of Buckingham Duke of Gloucester; the faithful de la Pole Earl of Suffolk.[3] These were the only honours won in the campaign. The English marched on without opposition by the usual route, and laid the abbeys of Dryburgh, Melrose and Newbattle in ashes, outrages outside the ordinary laws of war, but justified on the plea of the Crusading character of the expedition, the Scots being Gilbertines.[4] Holyrood was spared at the intercession of John of Gaunt; but Edinburgh, reported by the French as a poor town of about 400 houses, was burnt, including the church of St. Giles; the castle however held out.[5] Not a living creature had been seen on the march; the crops were still green; and the supplies brought by sea soon ran short, a common incident of English invasions of Scotland. Richard asked Lancaster what ought to be done. The Duke sarcastically advised his Lord to follow up his successes by pursuing the enemy beyond the Forth; a suggestion which provoked another outburst of impotent fury.[6] By the 20th August the King had returned to Newcastle.[7] Meanwhile the Scots had harried all the coastline of Cumberland.[8]

[1] Armitage Smith, "John of Gaunt."

[2] Muster Roll, sup.; and Higden, IX. 62.

[3] See the several charters dated 6th August, "Hoselawelogh in Tevydale;" i.e. Hoselaw, near Yetholm in the Cheviots; Rot. Parlt. III. 205, 206, 207. William Ufford the late Earl of Suffolk died s.p. in 1382.

[4] Higden, 64.

[5] Fordun, 385; Wyntoun, II. 330; Scotichr. II. 401. The King was at Newbattle 11 August, Rot. Scot. II. 75; Froissart, II. 314.

[6] Higden, 64, 65; Walsingham, II. 131; Mon. Evesh. 62. Compare the confused account heard by Froissart, 335, 336; and adopted by some recent writers.

[7] Rot. Parlt. III. 208.

[8] "Between the Fellis and the Se;" Wyntoun, 331. De Vienne and his men went back to France little pleased with their adventure. Some of them must have stayed on till the 16th November, as the settlement of accounts between

Thus ended the Scottish invasion, the only military expedition in which Richard ever took part. The damage to Scotland may be estimated in part from the figures given by the Scottish accounts. For the year from March 1384 to April 1385 the revenue amounted to £3,224 9*s.* 6½*d.* For the like period from March 1385 to April 1386 it sinks to £1,140 2*s.* 5*d.*; the difference being due to the falling off of the Customs. In the year 1381–1382 the Scottish Customs had yielded £4,900. But since then the King, Queen and Earl of Douglas had been allowed to divide the wool duties between them.[1]

In the face of the French preparations for an invasion of England, of which early in the year the nation had been so full, the expedition was most ill-timed, and might have led to disastrous consequences if the efforts of France had not been diverted into another channel. Louis de Maël, the Count of Flanders, died 30 January 1384, not long after the Crusading invasion of the Bishop of Norwich. His dominions then passed into the hands of Philippe le Hardi (the brave boy of Poitiers), Duke of Burgundy, through his fateful marriage with Marguerite of Flanders, the only daughter and heiress of the late Count. The Duke entered Flanders at once, and within three months' time established his authority over the greater part of the country. The men of Ghent, however, clung to the English alliance, and, in January 1385, they took John Bourchier, an English knight, as their captain. With his help they attacked Bruges, without success, but on the 14th July succeeded in capturing Damme, the harbour of Bruges. The news reached Charles VI at Amiens on the next day, being the morrow of his marriage with Isabella of Bavaria. The forces prepared for the invasion of England were sent against Damme. The siege, in very hot weather, proved an arduous affair, but on the 28th August Charles took possession.

them and the Scots bears that date, £166 13*s.* 4*d.* (250 marks) is the only sum that appears as expended on them in the Scottish accounts; Excheq. Rolls Scotland, III. 680; Foed. VII. 484; Froissart, II. 337.

[1] See Excheq. Rolls Scotland, III. 79, 670, 680.

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A fortnight was then devoted to ravaging with fire and sword the district contiguous to Ghent, known as the "*Quatre Métiers*", even the fruit-trees being cut down.[1]

But the Flemish *communes* began to realize the hopelessness of further contest with their lord in the person of the Duke of Burgundy, with France, as well as the chivalry of the Low Countries, at his back. Negotiations were entered into between Philip and the men of Ghent. On the 21st November the war, that had lasted six years, was brought to a close, and peace proclaimed on terms most honourable for the citizens. All the civic rights and franchises of Ghent and the allied towns were guaranteed, with full liberty of commerce; they even obtained, with difficulty, freedom of conscience, on the terrible subject of the Schism.[2] On the 4th January 1386 Philippe le Hardi and Marguerite of Flanders made their entry to Ghent.[3]

On the 20th October a session of Parliament was opened at Westminster, and John of Gaunt at last obtained a formal sanction for his long-talked-of 'voyage' to Spain.[4] The 'door' by way of Portugal had, strange to say, again been opened up.

When the Earl of Cambridge came home in 1382 he left the Infanta Beatrix, who previously had been betrothed to his son Edward, finally engaged, as was supposed, to the second son of Juan I, the son of Enrique of Trastamare. But Juan having lost his wife, took the heiress of Portugal for himself, supplanting his son. On the 22nd October (1383) Fernando died, whereupon Juan at once laid claim to the throne of Portugal.[5] But national feelings and racial antipathies of long standing could not be so ignored. The Portuguese would have no Castilian to rule over them;

[1] Lavisse, IV. 284; Froissart, II. 321–326; Walsingham, II. 133, 135. On the 12th September Charles disbanded his forces, Froissart 327; the French fleet, however, returning from Sluys suffered severely from the attacks of William Beauchamp, the Captain of Calais.

[2] See the treaty signed at Tournay, 18th December (1385), Chron. Saint-Denys, I. 410–416 (Bellaguet); Froissart, II. 345–349.

[3] Lavisse, 286.

[4] Rot. Parlt. III. 204; Higden, IX. 71.

[5] Ayala, II. 175, and note; Pauli, II. 559.

and they set up a natural brother of the late King, João, or John, Grand Master of Avis. An English contingent helped the Portuguese to win the decisive victory of Aljubarrota (14th August 1385);[1] and when Parliament met Portuguese envoys were in London begging for further support.[2] CHAP. XVI 1385

Rumours of French invasion being still rife, the Chancellor in his opening speech pointed out that the best safeguard against invasion at home, was a vigorous prosecution of the war abroad. The Houses agreed, and made a liberal grant of a Subsidy and a half; the money to be received by commissioners named by themselves, and expended wholly on 'wars to come'[3]—an odd stipulation, considering the aspirations after peace, and the repudiation of all responsibility for the Duke's enterprises, so recently expressed. But the Parliaments of those days were infirm of purpose. On the one hand the 'way' by Portugal had been pressed upon them, as the likeliest to lead to 'final' peace; while on the other hand we have seen the desperate lengths to which the King and his young friends were prepared to go to get rid of the hateful Duke. Parliament.

The wool duties that would expire at Midsummer (24 June 1386) were renewed for a year, but only for a year to run from the 1st August, both Lords and Commons again insisting on a break, as a precedent for future refusal.[4] De la Pole also intimated an intention of abolishing the Calais Staple, in the interests of the Revenue which were said to suffer from it. Parliament again approved;[5] while the King also agreed with the Houses in thinking that the facilities for emancipation offered to 'natives' by the chartered towns were too great, and ought to be curtailed.[6] But the King and Parliament were far from being at one on all points; and when the Commons asked for an annual 'view' of the state of the Household, Richard answered

[1] See Ayala, II. 222, &c.; Froissart, II. 195, 371, 429; Mariana, 851. For Englishmen allowed to enlist in the service of João see Foed. VII. 436, 450, 462.

[2] Foed. 479.

[3] "Guerres à venir."

[4] Rot. Parlt. III. 203, 204.

[5] Id. 205, 214.

[6] Id. and 212; also Statutes, II. 38.

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that he would do it when he pleased; and, to a request for the names of his officers for the coming year, he replied that he was quite satisfied with his present servants, but would change them when he chose.[1] Notwithstanding this show of firmness on his part, it appears that he was obliged to submit to the appointment of a committee of investigation of nine Lords; who met and presented a report. The report was suppressed; but the Government condescended to act on their suggestions by reducing the expenditure on Cherbourg and Brest.[2]

Lavish Honours.

The Roll of the Parliament is swelled with ratifications of the honours conferred by the King during the Scottish campaign. We are told at length how the two new Dukes were very solemnly invested with sword, cap and coronet,[3] and received endowments of £1,000 a year in tail male; also how the Earl of Suffolk had his sword girt on, with £500 a year for his life. These were not abnormal grants. Not so the extravagant distinctions lavished upon the King's prime favourite, Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford.[4] He was exalted to a marquisate, a title previously unknown in England. On the 1st December he was created Marquis of Dublin, and therewith received an absolute grant of all regalian rights, great and small, over the Dominion of Ireland, homage to the Crown alone being reserved. The King further undertook to defray all the expenses of government for the first two years: after that it was arranged that the Marquis should pay 5,000 marks a year for the conquests he was expected to make from the independent Irish.[5] The grant of such honours and emoluments to an untried youth, only twenty-three years old,[6] in the face of recent protests against the alienation

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 213. See Higden, IX. 73, who says that in resisting the demands of the Commons the King had the support of Lancaster.

[2] See the Impeachment of Suffolk in the next Parliament in which these facts came out; Rot. Parlt. 117.

[3] "Per gladii cincturam, et pillei ac circuli aurei suo capiti impositionem."

[4] "Le comte d'Asquesuffort qui étoit pour ce temps tout le cœur et le conseil du roi, etc.;" Froissart, II. 336.

[5] Rot. Parlt., 209, 210; Foed. VII. 503.

[6] The Earl was born in 1362; Doyle.

of Crown rights, amounted to a declaration of war on the Commons.[1]

The Succession.

Among the miscellaneous matters of business apparently transacted in this Parliament the recognition of the young Earl of March, Roger Mortimer III, Philippa's son, as heir presumptive to the Crown, should not be overlooked.[2]

Parliament had not made over the whole proceeds of the Subsidy to John of Gaunt. Three 'wars' had been specially sanctioned; namely the relief of Ghent, the defence of the Scottish March, and the 'voyage' to Castile. On the 8th December Hugh le Despenser and William Drayton were instructed to take 200 men-at-arms and 400 archers to Ghent. But, as already mentioned, Ghent had come to terms with the Duke of Burgundy. The relief intended for Ghent was sent to Berwick.[3] The Scots, however, had no wish for further hostilities; negotiations were opened in January 1386, and eventually a truce was signed to the 31st May 1387.[4]

John of Gaunt's undertaking was thus left in undisputed possession of the field. Twenty thousand marks (£13,333 6*s.* 8*d.*) had been assigned to the Duke from the Treasury with the consent of Parliament.[5] A further sum of 20,000 marks was now advanced by the King. On the 7th February a treaty was sealed between Richard and John, in which the King bound his uncle to repay this advance, and also to come to no terms with his 'Adversary of Castile' without exacting compensation for past damages to English shipping, and, moreover, requiring the Adversary to pledge himself to perpetual friendship and alliance with England.[6] Clearly Richard's sager advisers—shall we say Michael de la Pole?—had little faith in the enterprise; and, anticipating some petty "transaction" or compromise

[1] See Walsingham, II. 140; and Mon. Evesh. 66.
[2] So Eulog. III. 361; but given under 1387; Doyle; G. E. C.
[3] 20 December; Foed. VII. 488.
[4] Foed. 489, 498, 526, 539; Rot. Scot., &c.
[5] Rot. Parlt. III. 313.
[6] Foed. 495. Richard borrowed the marks; Cal. Pat. Roll 9 Rich. p. 147.

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as the most likely outcome, were anxious to safeguard England's interests.[1] More elaborate conventions between Richard and John, and between Richard and João, followed later.[2] All England rang with the din of Lancaster's preparations; ships and sailors were bespoke from all quarters, as usual; also miners from the Forest of Dean, and carpenters from Somerset and Devon.[3] The spiritual arm was not neglected either. In March 1382 Urban VI had deposed Juan I; a year later he conferred the Crown of Castile on John of Gaunt, with all the rights and privileges of a Crusade for winning it.[4] His Crusade was now formally proclaimed at St. Paul's (18 February).[5] The Papal Bulls in John's favour were published, and great efforts made to raise money by the sale of Indulgences. But the demand for the article had been pretty well exhausted by the operations of the Bishop of Norwich in 1383, and the attempt met with only a moderate amount of success.[6]

On Easter Day (22 April) John and Costanza took formal leave of the King and Queen, and were presented with golden crowns by them.[7] In due course of time, and after the usual amount of procrastination, John mustered his forces at Plymouth.[8] If he had 2,000 men-at-arms and 2,000 archers it would represent a first-class royal army of the time. The Constable's staff was in the hands of the reprobate John Holland. On the 2nd February he had been brought in mourning attire to Court by Courtenay and the Bishop of London, and, after

[1] Michael had served in France under John, and so could judge of his capacity as a leader.

[2] See Foed. VII. 510–515, and 518–524.

[3] See Foed. 490–509. Personal safe-conducts for some 360 gentlemen were issued.

[4] Raynaldi, cited Sismondi, France, XI. 420.

[5] Higden, IX. 81, 82. For the sermon probably preached on the occasion by a Carmelite, see Fascic. Ziz. 506.

[6] Foed. 507; Walsingham, II. 507. See Armitage Smith, sup. 304–307.

[7] Knighton, Cont. 2676.

[8] Knighton gives the Duke 2,000 men-at-arms, so do the Portuguese writers. Ayala, II. 249, only allows 1,500 men-at-arms and as many archers.

an abject, thrice repeated, prostration worthy of the Celestial Empire, had been admitted to grace.[1] Richard Burley and Thomas Morieux shared the office of Marshal, while Thomas Percy held rule as Admiral. Among the notabilities were the Lords Scales, Poynings and Fitz-Walter; John Marmion, Hugh le Despenser the younger, Thomas Percy, younger brother of Hotspur, and the untiring undefeated Hugh Calverley.

John's son, the Earl of Derby, a young man of twenty, first summoned to Parliament the year before, was left at home, very properly, to look after the affairs of the Palatinate; but Lancaster took with him Costanza and her only child Katherine, also Philippa and Elisabeth of Lancaster,[2] and a natural daughter Blanche, married to Morieux, the joint Marshal. Katherine and Philippa were unmarried. But Elisabeth had just been married in all haste to John Holland, who since his pardon in February had again disgraced himself by seducing the girl, a *débutante* just introduced at court, and in fact betrothed to the young Earl of Pembroke.[3] On the 16th June, John of Gaunt and his knights being at Plymouth, gave their evidence in the celebrated Scrope *versus* Grosvenor case.[4] But all the English shipping that could be got together was not equal to the transport of the force, and they had to await the arrival of a promised Portuguese fleet. On the 30th June, at last, the squadron, consisting of ten big galleys of 180 oars each, and half a dozen minor craft, reached Plymouth. On Sunday 8th July the wind blew fair, and on that day or the next the whole flotilla put out to sea.[5]

Off Ushant John of Gaunt heard that the Duke of Brittany, "to prove his new-born loyalty to France," was besieging Brest. The garrison was found to be much harassed by a counterwork (*bastide*), of most solid and

[1] Higden, IX. 79. [2] Knighton, Cont. 2676, 2677; Foed. sup.

[3] Higden, 96, 97; Froissart, II. 486. Blanche Morieux was the daughter of one Marie de Saint-Hilaire, a Hainaulter and Maid of Honour to Queen Philippa; Armitage Smith, sup. 459, 460. See also the Table, p. 94.

[4] Beltz, Garter, 133. For the dispute over the *Bend Or* see Sir H. Nicolas, 'Scrope and Grosvenor controversy' (London, 1832).

[5] Knighton, sup.; Foed. 524; Higden, 83.

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formidable character. Troops were landed; in three days the *bastide* was brought to terms, and on the fourth day the flotilla sailed on.[1] A junction with the allied forces of Portugal, flushed with the success of Aljubarrota, would have seemed the natural course for one aspiring to the conquest of Castile to take. But John preferred to act alone, and directed his fleet to the harbour of Corunna, where he landed apparently on the 8th of August.[2] After a pause of a month Lancaster moved his quarters to Santiago; friendly communications had been kept up with Portugal, and solemn challenges addressed to Castile; these last were accepted in the proper spirit, as openings for negotiation and palaver. At Santiago the English remained all through the autumn and winter, no attempt being made to secure any advantage while the force was still fresh and intact.[3]

An Itinerant King.

While John of Gaunt was thus wasting England's resources on a solemn farce, the people at home were again beginning to tremble for their hearths and homes. In February negotiations had been opened for a truce with France; Leo of Armenia,[4] a dethroned monarch going the round of Europe, had come over at Christmas 1385 to mediate between England and France, suggesting a congress at Lelinghem. On the 9th of February (1386) the Earl of Suffolk and Walter Skirlaw, now Bishop of Lichfield, were sent over to treat. The English would have liked a localized truce, that would not interfere with the operations of the Duke of Lancaster; but the French would not consent to that; and the envoys returned on the 28th March to report their failure.[5]

[1] Knighton, 2677, 2678; Froissart, II. 488–490; Walsingham, II. 143.

[2] So Walsingham, sup.; see also Knighton, sup.; Chron. Saint-Denys, I. 437; and Ayala, II. 249. But the last gives the 25th July as the day of landing, which seems much too early.

[3] Ayala, 250, &c.; Froissart, 493; see Armitage Smith, 312, &c.

[4] Leo VI, of the House of Lusignan established by Richard Cœur de Lion as Kings of Cyprus. Leo had been dethroned and captured by the Sultan of Egypt. After six years of captivity he was set free and came to Europe. Richard received him with all honour, and actually gave him a pension of £1,000 a year. See Froissart, 448, note Buchon; Higden, IX. 76–80; Foed. VII. 491, 494.

[5] Foed. 491–495, 500; Chron. Saint-Denys, I. 423, &c.

Charles VI, a lad of seventeen, was, naturally, much in the hands of his uncles. Louis of Anjou had gone to Italy in quest of a crown, and lost his life in the attempt. The Dukes of Berri and Burgundy remained. The latter, an ambitious politician, with Flanders as well as Burgundy in his hands, was in fact an independent potentate, with whom relations had to be cultivated. He was bent on revenge for Despenser's attack on his dominion. The projected invasion of England in 1385 having come to nothing, preparations in France for a fresh armament, on the largest scale, were quietly begun in 1386; taxes were imposed, vast stores accumulated, and shipping gathered from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. Lastly, a cantonment of wooden huts made of the finest oak of Normandy and Brittany was constructed, all carefully fitted, to be carried over, and set up as a fortified base camp on English soil.[1] As early as the 1st June Richard had begun to evince some uneasiness at his uncle's departure, and begged him to send back his ships as soon as possible, a request that was strictly attended to.[2] By the 11th of August Charles VI was on the move for the trysting-place of Sluys, and the English Government had fairly realized their danger. Orders were issued in quick succession for calling out levies, arming the coasts, setting up beacons, and raising loans from the clergy and towns. Wild rumours flew from mouth to mouth, and London was reduced to a perfect state of panic.[3]

Meanwhile the French came not. Charles, having reached Sluys, remained on shore. The Duke of Berri, jealous of his brother Philip, kept far away in the South, raising more troops; and taking his time about it. On the other hand, the English assumed the offensive. Young Henry Percy, the celebrated "Hotspur",[4] sallying from

[1] Chron. Saint-Denys, I. 429; J. J. Ursins, 355; Froissart, II. 501; Lavisse, IV. 291, 292.

[2] Foed. VII. 521; Froissart, 491.

[3] Foed. 539, 543–545; Knighton, Cont. 2679; Walsingham, II. 145; Riley, Memorials, 489.

[4] Properly "Hatspore", Northern dialect. Walsingham, 144; Scotichr. II. 405.

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Calais captured Cassel and Bourbourg; English cruisers cut into the French flotilla; a Breton squadron under the Constable de Clisson carrying part of the wooden camp was intercepted off Sandwich, the huts were landed and set up as trophies on the shore. Not till the 14th October did the Duke of Berri reach Sluys, and then of course the season for campaigning was past, and the expedition had to be adjourned for another year.[1]

[1] Walsingham II. 144, 147; Froissart, II. 530–533; Lavisse, IV. 292, 293.

CHAPTER XVII

Richard II (*continued*)

A.D. 1386–1388

Parliament.—Unpopularity of the King.—Baronial Opposition.—'The Lords Appellants.'—Change of Ministry.—Impeachment of de la Pole.—Appointment of Executive Commission.—Naval Operations.—Continued Struggle between King and Barons.—Unconstitutional appeal to the Judges.—Recourse to arms.—Collapse of King's Party.—Submission of the King.

In England the alarm of French invasion had hardly passed away when a session of Parliament was opened, namely on the 1st October. With this Parliament "the clearer and more dramatic action of the reign begins".[1] The retirement of John of Gaunt left Richard exposed to the attacks of a formidable and determined baronial opposition, which included Gloucester, Arundel, Warwick, Derby—"a man of much greater craft than his father"—Archbishop Courtenay, and Arundel's brother, Thomas of Arundel, Bishop of Ely. Thomas Mowbray of Axholm, the King's young friend, had recently been created Earl of Nottingham. But he had married Arundel's sister, and so had been persuaded, for a time, to change sides. Both lower clergy and Commons were said to sympathize with the opposition. Richard's intense unpopularity is the salient fact of the time; and for this his intolerable autocratic and personal pretensions; his utter contempt for the rights and feelings of his subjects; and his want of self-control, and outrageous behaviour to men of the highest rank, would fully account. But it is clear that there was another charge—in our eyes Richard's chief claim to our respect—but in the eyes of his own people a weighty accusation—namely that, from whatever motives, he wished for peace with France, and was prepared to make considerable

Parliament.

Unpopularity of the King.

[1] Lords' Report; Bishop Stubbs.

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sacrifices for the sake of peace. But the country did not see it.[1] The offending of the Second Edward had been against the aristocracy. The Second Richard united high and low against himself.[2]

The Chancellor, as usual, opened the proceedings in the King's presence, and explained that the principal cause of the summons of the Parliament was the King's 'spontaneous purpose of crossing the sea in person[3]': a Grand Council of magnates had been consulted at Oxford, but had declined to assume any responsibility: the Chancellor frankly admitted that one main consideration that had 'moved the King to his purpose' was the prevalence of rumours that he shrank from personal exertion.[4] He concluded by asking for a grant, if for nothing else, at any rate for the defence of the realm from the 'imminent perils' of invasion.[5]

The King's offer to cross the sea must have sounded little short of a mockery. But before the Houses had resolved on any definite step Richard gave his enemies their opportunity by a further act of deplorable indiscretion. The Marquis of Dublin had not yet condescended to visit his Dominion;[6] but, as if his merits had not yet been adequately rewarded, on the 13th October Richard made him Duke of Ireland.[7]

A Rash Promotion.

"Immediately the storm arose." The King was the offender, but he could only be attacked through his ministers, however guiltless they might be. Both Houses demanded the dismissal of the Chancellor as well as that of

[1] See Higden, IX. 103 (Malvern), our primary authority at this period.

[2] "Re vera Rex infensus erat non solum militibus Parliamentalibus sed paene cunctis proceribus;" Walsingham, II. 149; see also pp. 148, 150. Richard was not only unpopular, but even an object of contempt.

[3] "De sa propre motion et corage."

[4] "Pur ce que l'en avoit dit devant ces heures que le Roi ne vorrait travailler en propre persone."

[5] Rot. Parlt. III. 215. I reject the assertion of the Continuator of Knighton, 2681, that the Chancellor asked for a quadruple Subsidy. I cannot believe that any man would have asked for so unheard of a grant.

[6] He had sent a deputy in the person of John Stanley; Gilbert, Viceroys, 254.

[7] Cart. 10 Rich. II. pt. 1, No. 2, cited Beltz, Garter, 300; Knighton, Cont. 2680; Gilbert, 254–256.

the Treasurer, John Fordham, Bishop of Durham. The King retired to Eltham and told the Houses to mind their own business.[1] He also threatened them with a dissolution.[2] The Parliament answered that unless de la Pole was dismissed, and the King came back to Westminster, they would not proceed to any further business. Richard then suggested that forty members of the House of Commons should be sent to confer with him at Eltham. Instead, the Duke of Gloucester and Bishop Arundel presented themselves. In the name of the whole community they tendered a humble address, pointing out that by an ancient statute the King was bound to hold a Parliament once a year, at which, among other matters, they should discuss how all errors in the government should be reformed, and public burdens most easily be borne. As the Parliament had to bear the burden, it seemed to them[3] that they had a right to inquire how and by whom their money was spent They also referred to another statute, according to which Parliament might break up, if the King without good cause absented himself for forty days. Richard replied that if they were going to talk of rebellion he would take counsel with the King of France. To this shocking suggestion the obvious answer was that the King of France was his greatest enemy, and would advise him to his ruin. After dwelling, perhaps unnecessarily, on the toil and hardships undergone by the King's father and grandfather, in asserting their right to the Crown of France, they came back to the state of the country, ascribing its poverty to the mismanagement of the King's servants : ' Nay there was another old statute, which not so long ago had been put in force, that if the King, from any evil design, or foolish contumacy, or wanton wilfulness, should alienate himself from his people, and

[1] Knighton, Cont. 2681.

[2] So Eulog. III, 359 ; and the statement appears to be corroborated by the fact that a question was afterwards addressed to the judges on this very point ; see below, and Knighton, Cont. 2695.

[3] "Videtur eis etiam quod ;" see also the minute of the interview preserved by the Lancastrian writer, the Continuator of Knighton, 2681, 2682 ; Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 496.

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should not be willing to be governed and regulated by the laws, statutes and laudable ordinances of the realm, with the wholesome advice of the lords and peers of the realm, but should headily and wantonly, by his own mad counsels, work out his own private purposes, it should then be lawful for them, with the common assent and consent of the people of the realm, to depose the King himself from the royal throne, and elevate in his place some near kinsman of the royal line.' [1]

This unmistakable reference to the fate of Edward II frightened Richard; he returned to Westminster, and dismissed the obnoxious ministers (23rd October). Next day Bishop Thomas of Arundel became Chancellor; and Gilbert of Hereford, Treasurer.[2] A formal impeachment of the Earl of Suffolk followed. Seven articles were preferred against him. Three taxed him with having taken advantage of his position to obtain Crown grants upon advantageous terms.[3] These, and another article which charged him with having passed an unwarrantable charter of franchises for the castle of Dover,[4] were the only points which were ultimately pressed; and he virtually disposed of his liability under them by asking why a higher standard of morality should be applied to him than to any other officer of the crown. The other points laid to his charge were, the suppression of the report of the nine Lords appointed in the last session; the insufficient defence of the coast; and the failure to relieve the city of Ghent. On these points the Lords allowed his plea, which was, that, as others were equally to blame, he alone ought not to have

[1] Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 497, from Knighton, Cont.: "It is needless to say that there was no such statute." For the threat see also Rot. Parlt. III. 350, where it is stated that Gloucester and Arundel took the precaution of delivering the message through a third party, "une grant persone Pere de la Terre;" also Id. 374.

[2] Foed. VII. 548; Pell Receipt Roll, Mich. 10 Rich. II (24 or 26 October).

[3] Three cases were adduced; the purchase of an annuity of £50 a year granted by Edward III to one Tydeman of Limburgh, which ought to have been forfeited; the acquisition of the revenues of the Master of St. Anthony, a schismatic; and the purchase of the manor of Flaxfleet in Kent below value.

[4] Simon Burley, the King's favourite, was Constable of Dover at the time; Rot. Parlt. 242.

been impeached.[1] Throughout he made a vigorous defence, and his brother-in-law Richard, Lord Scrope of Bolton, stood manfully by him, appealing to his thirty years' exertions in the public service. In vain! Suffolk had to be condemned as a blow to the King who stood behind him. The Lords found that he had taken advantage of the Crown, thereby violating his oath of office; the King was forced to condemn him to fine and ransom, with imprisonment in the meantime, and the surrender of all grants received from the Crown, except his earldom; even his earl's pension was shabbily cut down to £20 a year.[2]

Encouraged by this success the Opposition now proceeded to take a further step in imitation of the acts of the Good Parliament. The necessary supply was cut down to the grant of two half Subsidies; one to be raised at Candlemas, and the other at Michaelmas, 1387; with a prolongation of the Customs duties,[3] but both only on the express condition of the King's giving his consent to the appointment of an Executive Commission of eleven Lords.[4]

This body was to hold office for a year, to regulate the royal Household and Revenue, both as to receipts and expenditure, and, generally, to control the administration, with power to hear and determine complaints not provided for by the law, all subjects being ordered to obey them to the extent of their commission.[5] The document was sealed on the 19th November, confirmed on the 28th November, and formally published as a Statute on the 1st December.[6] The Lords named were the two Archbishops, Courtenay and Neville; Bishops Wykeham and Brantingham; the Abbot of Waltham; the Dukes of Gloucester and

Executive Commission.

[1] "Ne doit estre empesche par soi sans ses compagnons;" Rot. Parlt. III. 220.

[2] See Rot. Parlt. 216–220; and Knighton, Cont., who gives a copy of the charges, 2684.

[3] The surtaxes on wine and general merchandise (T. and P.) were raised to 3*s.* the tun and 12*d.* the £1 of goods; while the wool duties were prolonged from 1st August to 25th December, 1387. The Convocation of Canterbury also granted two half Tenths in December; Wake 318.

[4] Rot. Parlt. 220, 349; Knighton, Cont. 2686.

[5] Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 499.

[6] Rot. Parlt. 349; Knighton, Cont. 2686, 2692; Higden, IX. 83; 10 Rich. II. c. 1; Statutes, II. 39.

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York; the Earl of Arundel; and the Lords Cobham of Kent, Scrope of Bolton and Devereux. These were to act in conjunction with the new Chancellor, Treasurer, and Privy Seal.[1]

This Council was by no means one-sided in its composition. Alexander Neville was a devoted friend to the King, while Wykeham and Scrope were not likely to run extreme lengths. But for the first time in the history of our reforming Commissions, the Great Seal was in the hands of a devoted member of the Opposition; their authority therefore would be real. Alive to the fact, Richard, the day before the session closed, came forward to declare by his own word of mouth[2]—an unusual circumstance—that his intention was 'that for nothing done in that Parliament should any prejudice arise to himself, or his Crown, or prerogative'.[3] The King goes out of his way to proclaim that he does not intend to abide by unpalatable concessions made to his subjects. In this connexion we may point out that in his answer to the first prayer of the Commons' petition, which, as usual, was for the observance of the statutes and charters, the words used were "*Le Roy le voet sauvant sa prerogative*",[4] the saving of the prerogative being quite novel.

It is needless to say that de la Pole was subjected to no imprisonment. After a brief relegation to Windsor he was recalled to Westminster, and during the Christmas festivities was treated with exceptional distinction.[5]

The Opposition appreciating the dangers of a pacific policy were determined not to fall into that mistake. The break up of the French armament, however, gave the committee time to arrange their plans; and they wisely resolved on naval operations. On the 10th December

[1] "The Privy Seal was John Waltham, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. The minutes of the first proceedings of the commission are printed in the Proceedings of the Privy Council, ed. Nicolas, I. 3, but they contain merely a list of articles of enquiry;" Bp. Stubbs, II. 499.

[2] "Par sa bouche demesne."

[3] Rot. Parlt. III. 224.

[4] Id. 221. On the 28th November the session rose.

[5] Walsingham, II. 149; Knighton, Cont. 2683; Eulog. III. 360.

Naval operations.

the Earl of Arundel had been appointed Admiral of the West and North.[1] Great efforts were made in the spring of 1387 to provide him with an efficient fleet, especial attention being paid to the manning of the ships, all landsmen being rejected. Gloucester was active in superintending the work.[2] On the 16th March Arundel took up his command. Ravaging attacks on the French coast must have been the operations originally contemplated, but an accident turned their ardour into a more profitable direction. The capture of a couple of Franco-Spanish vessels put the English in possession of the fact that the great spring wine fleet from La Rochelle to Sluys was due. On Sunday 24th March the approach of the enemy was signalled; next day they came up, and a long and desperate running action ensued; according to Froissart the engagement lasted over three tides, both sides anchoring when the tide failed and then resuming when it suited. Fifty prizes were taken into the Orwell next day, besides others burnt or sunk. Arundel himself followed up his advantage by occupying Sluys and seizing all the shipping.[3] He stayed there for more than a fortnight, the troops being landed to ravage the country. But fevers, ascribed to bad water, broke out among them. On the 14th April the Earl sailed to Harwich, himself to be laid up there to the end of the month. He then sailed to Brest, still closely besieged. He revictualled the fort, and relieved it of one *bastide*, but failed to reduce another counterwork. Again were troops landed and the country ravaged. Towards Midsummer Arundel returned to England 'with blessings of all the common folk' (*plebanorum*).[4]

The Executive Commission having its headquarters in

[1] Nicolas, Royal Navy, II. 531.

[2] Walsingham, II. 153, 154; Foed. VII. 554. A Muster Roll, "J. P. R. 117", cited Nicolas, II. 318, gives the force as 1,000 men-at-arms and 1,500 archers; so too "E. B. 1268". The Earls of Devonshire (Edward Courtenay I) and Nottingham were with the fleet.

[3] Higden (Malvern), IX. 91, 92; Walsingham, II. 154, 155; Froissart, II. 549, 550.

[4] Higden, 92, 93; Walsingham, sup.; Knighton, Cont. 2692, 2693. A gallon of wine now went in London for 4*d.*, instead of 14*d.* or 2*s.*

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1387
The King and the Commission.

London,[1] Richard and his friends betook themselves to a round of the provinces, in the hope of beating up a country party, as against Gloucester and the Opposition. Their ill-treatment had driven de la Pole heart and soul into the arms of autocracy; the Royal circle also included besides Archbishop Neville, Simon Burley and the Duke of Ireland, Richard Sturry, a Lollard and an old member of the Privy Council, and Nicholas Brembre, the ex-Mayor of London. Councils were held at Reading, Woodstock, Nottingham. From Cheshire the King passed into North Wales, and so back to the Welsh March, surrounding himself with a Welsh bodyguard; de Vere was given the castle of Flint, with the Justiciarship of Cheshire, and 1,000 marks a year from the estates of Nicholas, Lord Audley, a man of ripe years who had recently succeeded his father James. The sheriffs were sounded as to the possibility of packing the next Parliament; and an emissary was sent into East Anglia to enlist adherents and distribute badges, crowns of silver and silver gilt.[2] Here we may trace the inception of the great White Hart conspiracy against popular rights, of which we shall hear more.

The Judges consulted.

Instead of abiding the expiry of the twelvemonth for which the Executive Commission had been appointed, Richard very rashly conceived the idea of procuring legal opinion as to the legality of their appointment, and the validity of their powers. Questions to that effect were first submitted to the Judges at Shrewsbury, and again more formally on the 25th August, at Nottingham.

The Chief Justices Tresilian and Bealknap, the Puisne Judges Holt, Fulthorp and de Burgh, and John Lokton Serjeant-at-law (under compulsion as they afterwards said), in answer to ten questions addressed to them declared that the Commission was derogatory to the Royal prerogative; and that all who had either procured it or stirred the King to consent to it deserved capital punishment: that in the

[1] Cal. Pat. Roll, 10 Rich. II, *passim*.

[2] Higden, IX. 93, 94; Walsingham, II. 161; Knighton, Cont. 2692; Mon. Evesh. 85; Complete Peerage.

proceedings in Parliament Lords and Commons were bound to follow the order of business prescribed by the King: that all who had attempted to interfere with him in the exercise of his prerogative[1] were equally guilty: and that Parliament had no power to impeach his officers without his consent. They further agreed that the person who moved for the production of the 'statute' of condemnation passed on Edward II was guilty of treason; and that the 'judgement' passed on Suffolk was 'erroneous and revocable'. These opinions were reduced to writing, and attested by the seals of Archbishop Neville, Robert Waldby, Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishops of Durham and Bangor, and those of Thomas Rushook Bishop of Chichester,[2] of the Duke of Ireland and of Suffolk.[3]

It is needless to remark that these opinions were "servile and unconstitutional".[4] Richard might complain that no crisis had arisen to warrant the appointment of such an Executive Commission, and that the facts proved against Suffolk did not warrant the sentence passed on him; but we must hold that the appointment of such a Council was not by any means beyond the powers of Parliament. At the same time it is very likely that Fourteenth-century opinion had little fault to find with the Judges' law. Anyhow the Judges' ruling made the political breach incurable; and reduced the situation to a game of heads.

Armed with this enunciation of constitutional law, to be kept secret till the time for producing it might arrive, Richard went on with his military preparations, making every effort to enlist men either as loyal followers or hired mercenaries, but with little success, the sheriffs assuring him that they could promise him no support against the Council.[5] On the other hand we hear that the Archbishop of Dublin basely sought to purchase forgiveness by betraying the great secret to the Duke of Gloucester. So matters

[1] "Qui impediverunt Regem quominus poterat exercere que ad Regaliam et Prerogativam suam pertinuerunt."

[2] Consecrated Bishop of Llandaff in 1383 and translated to Chichester in 1385; Reg. Sacr. [3] Rot. Parlt. III. 233. [4] Hallam.

[5] Walsingham, II. 161, 162; Knighton, Cont. 2697.

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went on for a couple of months, the parties keeping at arm's length, but the King gaining ground in London, through the agency of Brembre and Nicholas Exton, who had succeeded Brembre in the Mayoralty. To conciliate the opposite faction Northampton, the man unjustly condemned in 1384, had received a full pardon.[1] At last, on the 28th October the King made an overt move, sending Archbishop Neville and de la Pole on an embassy to the Mayor and the Londoners to ask if they were prepared to stand by him in case of need. A loyal answer having been returned, on the 10th November he entered London in state, the civic authorities receiving him in robes of scarlet and white, the royal colours, and so escorting him as far as the Mews at Charing. At Westminster he found the Abbot and monks at the door of the palace, waiting to take him to the Abbey for a solemn intercession. Dismounting he walked barefoot, attended by Neville, de Vere and de la Pole, to offer in due form at the high altar.[2]

Encouraged by his reception by the Londoners, Richard next day sent messages to Gloucester and Arundel, commanding their attendance. They declined, whereupon a proclamation was issued forbidding the supply of provisions arms or munitions of any kind to Arundel.[3] It was said that Suffolk urged an immediate attack on Warwick, who was established at Haringay Park, near Hornsey. According to another writer the King directed Northumberland to arrest the Earl of Arundel at Reigate, in his impregnable earthworks,[4] a likely errand forsooth. At any rate Richard began so clearly to disclose hostile intentions that Gloucester from Essex, and Arundel from Surrey, hastened to join forces with Warwick at Haringay, the three next day removing to Waltham.[5] Informed of this, Richard at once sent the

Barons joining forces.

[1] Higden, IX. 93.

[2] Id. 102–104. I follow this, the only narrative evidently posted up day by day; cf. Knighton, Cont. 2696, much less intelligent.

[3] Higden, 104, 105; Knighton, 2697.

[4] Walsingham, II. 163. Fitz Alan was Earl of Surrey as well as Earl of Arundel, through the marriage of his grandfather Edmund to Alice Warenne, sister and heiress of John Warenne II.

[5] 13, 14 November, Higden, 105, 106; Knighton, 2697; Rot. Parlt. III. 376.

Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of York, the Bishops of Winchester and Ely, John Waltham, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and the Lords Cobham, Scrope and Devereux to demand explanations (14th November). The Earls answered by denouncing the King's friends, and insisting that Neville, de Vere, de la Pole, Tresilian and Brembre should be placed in custody to answer any charges that might be brought against them in Parliament.[1] The mediating Lords laboured diligently to induce the three to leave their camp, and present themselves to the King as loyal subjects, and, at last, prevailed on them so to do. On the 17th November Gloucester Warwick and Arundel rode to Westminster with the modest escort of 300 horsemen. Entering the Hall they thrice prostrated themselves before the King, seated on his throne; rising to their feet they apologized for their delay in coming, and justified the manner of their appearance by the need of protection against their enemies, namely the King's supporters. They ended by praying him to listen to a statement on their part to be read out by Scrope. Richard having assented, Scrope produced a fresh impeachment of the Five, requiring them to be placed under arrest to await the next Parliament.[2] Forced to temporize, Richard assented; took the case into his own hand, and named the 3rd February for the meeting of Parliament. Four out of the five threatened men at once absconded. De Vere posted down to the North, to take charge of the troops being raised in Cheshire and Lancashire; Neville Suffolk and Tresilian hid themselves; only Brembre could be found.

Flight of the King's supporters.

On the 19th November, the day when the Executive Commission came to an end, Richard was forced to issue a proclamation entirely absolving Gloucester Arundel and Warwick of treasonable intentions, and recognizing that they had been 'defamed' by his advisers—namely the

[1] Higden, IX. 106; Rot. Parlt. III. 229; and the manifesto addressed by the Lords to the Londoners, Knighton, Cont. 2699, dated Friday, 15 November; Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 501, places the indictment of the King's supporters in the mouth of the negotiator sent by Richard, which is clearly wrong.

[2] Higden, 107, 108; Rot. Parlt. sup.

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Five. At the same time he took these under his protection, and forbade all hostile action on either side pending the meeting of Parliament.[1]

This declaration was accepted on both sides as an armistice giving time for further preparation. On the 28th November[2] the Mayor (Nicholas Exton) and the Aldermen were sounded as to the number of armed men that they could produce in case of need; next day the King tried the individual gilds with no better success—all were humble artisans and merchants, not men of war; Exton begged to be relieved of his office. Then Richard summoned a Council by letters of Privy Seal, and when the hour came failed to appear. Strenuous efforts were being made to bring him to terms with the Opposition. He either flatly rejected every suggestion made, or, if he gave in to anything, failed to keep his word. On one point, however, he was consistently inflexible, namely that of the case of the Duke of Ireland. He would listen to nothing against him. From the evident prominence of this man's name in the negotiations it would seem that if Richard had only consented to discard his favourite, a compromise might have been patched up. De Vere had recently given further offence to the whole Royal circle (apart from the King) by divorcing his wife, the Lady Philippa de Coucy, granddaughter of Edward III, in order to marry a Bohemian damsel in the Queen's household. Philippa's Royal uncles were furious.[3]

Earls draw the sword.

Thus, the King being incorrigible, recourse to arms was unavoidable. Early in December Gloucester Arundel and Warwick went down to join the Earls of Derby and Nottingham in making arrangements for intercepting de Vere on his march to London. Passing through Newmarket they mustered their forces at Huntingdon on the 12th December; the question of the King's deposition was mooted, but dropped through the opposition of Nottingham and Derby.[4] Turning westwards to Northampton, they issued a procla-

[1] Knighton, Cont. 2701.
[2] Riley, 499.
[3] Higden, IX. 95; Green, Princesses, III. 222.
[4] Rot. Parlt. III. 376.

mation declaring their allegiance to the King and all faithful subjects.[1] Moving into Warwickshire and Oxfordshire they split up their forces, establishing posts at Banbury, Brailes, Chipping Camden, Bourton-on-the-Hill, and Chipping Norton. De Vere was reported to be advancing from Evesham by "Chepyngstowe" (Stow-on-the-Wold?). Favoured by thick foggy weather he slipped past the detachments at Chipping Camden and Chipping Norton, and, entering Oxfordshire at Burford, made for Radcote bridge on the Thames, but only to find the passage barred by the Earl of Derby (19 December).[2] Pressing on down the left bank of the river, next day he encountered Arundel drawn out in force at Witney. De Vere having unfurled the King's banner and the banner of St. George as for action, the Earls asked for a parley, under cover of which they issued proclamations, disclaiming any intention of fighting against the King, and warning the Duke's men that if they fought they would be fighting for traitors and against the King. With this view of the case laid before them de Vere's force broke up, the men declaring that they had simply been enlisted for the protection of the Duke of Ireland, and not at all for fighting, much less fighting for traitors.[3] De Vere galloped off, and under cover of nightfall crossed the Thames at Bablock Hythe, just outside Oxford. All his valuables, treasure, and correspondence with the King fell into the hands of his adversaries. Thomas Molyneux, Constable of Chester, the man in charge of the levies, attempting to follow, was cut down and killed.[4] Next day, apparently, the five Earls entered Oxford; Adam of Usk the chronicler, then a student in Divinity,[5] saw them enter; Warwick and Derby commanded the van, Gloucester the centre, and Arundel and Nottingham the rear.[6]

[1] Higden, IX. 109–111.

[2] Knighton, Cont. 2703; Rot. Parlt. III. 235. Malvern (Higden, 110), inverts the order of events (and the flow of the river), placing Witney above Radcote.

[3] 20 December; Higden, 111, 112; Eulog. III. 365; Usk, 5.

[4] Knighton, Cont. 2703, 2704; Walsingham, II. 169.

[5] "In jure Canonico extraordinarius existens."

[6] Usk, 6; Higden, 112, 113.

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1387

From Oxford the Duke of Ireland easily made his way to join the King at Windsor. Both being conscious that England could no longer hold him, he was sent down to Queenborough, and from thence shipped to Flanders, never to reappear in English history.[1] The Archbishop of York had escaped to the North, but was arrested by the Scrutineers on board a ship at Shields, being found with bullion to the amount of £30 on him. Ultimately he was allowed to escape, and died "serving a small cure in Flanders".[2] Suffolk, disguised as a merchant, had gone over to Calais, having a brother Edward established there in business. But the brother gave him up to the Captain, and the Captain sent him back to his native Hull. The Council sent for him, but he managed to escape, and died in Paris 5 September 1389.[3] Tresilian, with less judgement, thought to tide over the storm in a temporary hiding-place.

The Earls at Oxford having considered their plans, resolved to march on London to see the King, and come to an understanding with him. He meanwhile moved from Windsor to the Tower, proposing to quarter his followers as well within as without the walls, *ad libitum*. He was met by a firm protest from the Mayor and Aldermen, who maintained that even at coronation times accommodation had been found for all without Royal billeting.[4] On the 27th December the Lords appeared in St. John's Fields, Clerkenwell, with their forces drawn out as in battle array. The civic authorities found themselves in a great strait; they durst not defy the Lords, yet to make common cause with them would involve high treason. Acting cautiously, Exton and the Aldermen went out to greet them in friendly spirit, bringing supplies of bread and cheese and beer for the men, and so prevailed on them to disarm and accept of quarters

[1] Higden, IX. 112. De Vere died in 1392 at Louvain, of a wound received from a boar whilst out hunting, Walsingham, II. 212; Leland Coll. I. 186.

[2] Foed. VII. 589; Knighton, Cont. sup.; Bp. Stubbs. See also Higden, 183, 184.

[3] Higden, 108; Walsingham, II. 169; Issues, Devon, 234; Foss, IV. 76.

[4] "Absque assignatione;" Higden, 113.

in the suburbs.[1] Next day the Lords addressed a peremptory message to the King, requiring the production of the impeached 'traitors' or else warrants for their apprehension: Richard answered bluntly that he knew of no 'traitors'—other than those who impugned them. These continuing peremptory, the Duke of York and the Earl of Northumberland succeeded in arranging for a meeting. On the 30th December the Lords entered the City with 500 horse, and, after calling at the Guild Hall, to apologize for entering the City in arms, they proceeded to the Tower.[2] Elaborate precautions against treachery were taken by the Lords; the keys of the Tower were delivered to them, and they were allowed to search the premises, their men surrounding the Tower, and even keeping guard on the river, lest the King should give them the slip.[3] Entering the Tower, they found the King seated on his throne, in the open air, at the door of a pavilion or portable chapel, draped with cloth of gold. After the now established triple 'prostrations', the parties retired to the chapel, when Richard had again to endure a lecture on his misdeeds, delivered in very plain language: he had broken faith with the Lords: was compassing their deaths: and shielding the proscribed 'traitors'. Once more he was threatened with deposition: the Heir presumptive, recognized in the last Parliament, was there at hand, a charming lad of thirteen,[4] who would willingly be guided by them. Aghast at this suggestion Richard could only promise to do as they wished, at the same time idiotically betraying the hollowness of his professions by 'saving his Crown and Royal dignity'. Again he was told that if he would retain Crown or dignity there must be no shuffling.[5]

Feeling that they had sinned beyond forgiveness, and were committed to a life and death struggle with Richard, the Earls, or Appellants as we may begin to call them,

[1] Id. Walsingham is not quite consistent. At first he say "hospitati sunt in suburbiis"; then again he speaks of the distribution of provisions and admission to the city, p. 171. Knighton, Cont. 2704, actually has the delivery of the keys.

[2] Higden, IX. 113, 114; Rot. Parlt. III. 229.

[3] Walsingham, II. 171, 172; Knighton, 2704.

[4] Roger Mortimer, 3rd Earl of March.

[5] Higden, 115.

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evidently thought that their only chance of safety lay in drawing the serpent's fangs, and reducing the King to impotency by ostracizing all those who might be expected to give him comfort or support—a hopeless scheme. For the time, however, Richard had to give in.

On the 31st December the King left the Tower for Westminster, when, to please the reforming public, the Royal household was overhauled, and the establishment largely cut down.[1] On the 1st January 1388 a Grand Council was held, when the King was forced to give his assent to two proscription lists. The first, dealing with men impeached of treason, and to be cast into prison, included, besides the original Five, Simon Burley, the Constable of Dover; John, Lord Beauchamp of Holt,[2] Steward of the Household; Nicholas Dagworth, William Elmham, James Berners, Thomas Trevet and John Salisbury, knights and old Free Lances; besides three Clerks, Richard Mitford, Richard Clifford, and John Lincoln. The second list banished from Court John Fordham the Bishop of Durham, and Thomas Rushook Bishop of Chichester, a Dominican and the King's Confessor; the Lords de la Zouche of Haringworth, Lovel, Beaumont, Burnel and Camoys; Aubrey de Vere (Robert's uncle and heir), also the Ladies Mohun, Poynings, and Molyneux, besides knights and esquires of less note.[3] For carrying on the work of government the Bishops of Winchester and Bath, and the Lords Cobham, Scrope and Devereux were appointed as a committee, to assist the Chancellor, Treasurer and Privy Seal, appointed the year before.[4]

[1] Higden, IX. 115, and Walsingham, II. 172.

[2] Created on the 10th October by patent.

[3] Higden, 115, 116; Walsingham, 172, 173. The Ladies Mohun and Poynings had been admitted of the Garter; Beltz, ccxxi; Knighton, Cont. 2705.

[4] Higden, sup.

CHAPTER XVIII

Richard II (*continued*)

A.D. 1388, 1389

The 'Merciless Parliament'.—'The Lords Appellants' (Earls of Gloucester, Arundel, Warwick, Derby and Nottingham) supreme.—Violent Party Proceedings.—Wholesale Executions.—Naval Operations.—Battle of "Chevy Chase".—Parliament at Cambridge.—Resumption of authority by the King.—Truce with France and Scotland.

The 'Merciless Parliament'.

On the 3rd February the 'Merciless Parliament'[1] met at Westminster. When the Chancellor, the Bishop of Ely, had concluded his opening speech, and the roll of names had been called, Gloucester came forward, and, kneeling before the King, offered to clear himself of any intention of making himself King; Richard declared himself entirely satisfied of his uncle's good faith; the Commons were adjourned for a week, and then the King and Lords retired for business to the White Chamber. The five 'Lords Appellants', namely Gloucester, Derby, Arundel, Warwick, and Nottingham, then produced their 'appeal' against the five 'traitors' originally denounced. The bill contained thirty-nine charges, some counts being common to all, some peculiar to individuals. The only substantial charges were those connected with the attempts to subvert the Parliamentary Commission, including the questions put to the judges, which were set out in full, with the answers. The other charges were of the wild, exaggerated, intangible character common to all political trials in those days. The accused had taken advantage of the youth and innocence of the King; they had 'accroached' royal power; had ruled the King for their own purposes; had kept him from the sight of his lords and liege people; had obtained lavish grants of land, money and jewels; had made improper

[1] "Vocatur . . . Parliamentum sine misericordia;" Knighton, Cont. 2701.

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appointments to military commands; had conspired to make de Vere King of Ireland; had intrigued with 'the French', &c.[1]

With respect to the extrajudicial appeal to the Judges it was a rash, foolish step, but it does not seem to have constituted any offence known to the law; and, with respect to that and the other charges, where anything objectionable had taken place, the King himself was the man to blame. The only subject against whom proceedings could really be justified was de Vere; his evil influence over the King made his banishment a necessity.

The proceedings of the day ended with the formal citation of Neville, de Vere, Suffolk and Tresilian, only Brembre being as yet in custody. On the 4th February the bill of appeal was laid by the King's order before the Judges, Sergeants and 'sages' of the law, who declared 'that it was not conformable to either law', i.e. Common Law or Civil Law. The Lords answered that the realm of England never had been, and by their consent never should be, governed by the Civil Law; and that a matter of such high concern could only be determined in Parliament, and by the 'law and course of Parliament';[2] and that Parliament, being supreme judge, could not be bound by the forms in use in lower courts, whose duty was simply to see to the observance of the ancient laws and customs of the realm, and the ordinances and establishments of Parliament. They determined, therefore, the King acquiescing, that the appeal was well and sufficiently made and affirmed.[3]

This decision established a precedent for that worst incident of English Parliamentary government, the Bill of Attainder.[4]

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 228–236; Knighton, Cont. 2715–2726; Higden, IX. 119–140. See also Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 503.

[2] "Ley et cours du parlement."

[3] Rot. Parlt. 236. A further declaration to the same effect was placed on record at the end of the session; Rot. Parlt. 244.

[4] See the comment in the Eulogium, III. 366: "Videlicet si parliamentum aliquem appellaret de crimine, quia cum parliamento pugnare non posset, sine ratione damnaretur."

The absentees having been formally summoned for the second time, the House adjourned to the morrow (5th February); and then, after a third proclamation made, the Appellants pressed for sentence by default. The Lords Spiritual then retired in a body,—after the usual protest saving their rights as peers—Canon Law forbidding them to take part in a trial for a capital offence.[1] The Appellants then renewed their demand for immediate sentence, but the King, who, throughout, maintained a persistent but ineffectual struggle on behalf of his friends,[2] insisted that an 'honourable and profitable' judgement could not be passed without examination of the facts. Nine days were devoted to this task. On the 13th February the Lords found that fourteen of the counts contained treason, and that all the absentees were guilty. De Vere, Suffolk and Tresilian were condemned to be drawn and hanged; Neville 'to forfeit his temporalities and to await further judgement'.[3]

On the 17th February Brembre was brought from the Tower and arraigned; he denied all guilt, and claimed his right of battle wager, as a knight.[4] The Peers, however, ruled that the issue of 'battle' would not lie in such a case—the Commons supporting them—and they resigned themselves to a fresh examination and information on the articles as touching "Sir Nicholas". Pending this investigation Tresilian was detected, apprehended and arraigned. He made no defence and was forthwith sentenced and executed.[5] On the 20th Brembre was condemned and executed. On the 2nd March the Judges who had given the opinions at Shrewsbury and Nottingham were brought before Parliament and impeached by the Commons.

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 236; Wilkins, Conc. III. 203.

[2] See Eulog. sup., and Walsingham, II. 173.

[3] Rot. Parlt. 238.

[4] "Et ce (i.e. his innocence) feust y prest a defendre par son corps come Chivaler deust faire."

[5] 19 February; Rot. Parlt. 238. He was concealed in disguise in an apothecary's house within the precincts; Knighton, Cont. 2726; Stow, London, 303. He had £80 on him at the time; Receipt Roll, Mich., 12 Rich. II; the money was paid into the Treasury on the 12th February.

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Bealknap, Holt and Fulthorpe declared that they had only acted under the greatest pressure from Neville, de Vere and de la Pole, and in bodily fear for their lives—the others had followed their example. On the 3rd March Blake and Usk, two legal subordinates,[1] were brought up; on the 4th March they were condemned and executed; on the 6th March the six men of the law were found guilty of treason, and sentenced to be drawn and hung; but, on the intervention of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Queen Anne, the King was allowed to remit the capital penalty.[2]

On the same day the Bishop of Chichester, the King's Confessor, was impeached by the Commons for being accessory to the questions put to the judges; after answer made by the Bishop, and replication put in by the Commons, the case was adjourned, the Episcopal dignity of the accused interposing difficulties.[3]

The next cases taken up were those of Burley Salisbury and Berners (12th March). Sixteen charges were brought against them of having conspired with the other 'traitors' to mislead the King, alienate him from his subjects, and rule him for private purposes. But the only overt act alleged against any one of them was that Burley had brought the Mayor of Dover to the King at Sheen, after the 17th December, to consult about raising men.[4]

The investigation of these charges brought the session to the 20th March—Friday before Palm-Sunday; the approach of the Holy Week, therefore, made an adjournment necessary. Parliament had already granted a half Subsidy to be raised at once, with a renewal to Whitsuntide of the wool and other Customs' duties, which in fact had lapsed at Christmas.[5] These grants were made under an express stipulation that the sitting of Parliament should not be abridged in conse-

[1] Blake was Referendary, and had drawn up the Nottingham questions.

[2] Rot. Parlt. III. 239, 240; Knighton, Cont. 2726.

[3] Rot. Parlt. 240.

[4] Rot. Parlt. 242, Art. 11. This point, however, was not made out.

[5] Rot. Parlt. 244. The Convocation of Canterbury had already granted half a Tenth 26 February. York probably never met in consequence of the absence of its Archbishop; Wake, 319, 320.

quence. On the 20th the Houses rose, an oath having been first administered to all members that they would keep the peace, and stand by the five Lords Appellants, as against all men, saving their allegiance to the King, until the 'entire end' of the Parliament.[1]

On the 13th April Parliament resumed its labours. Gloucester's thirst for blood was still unslaked. Four more victims were required. Great efforts were made to save Burley. Introduced to the Royal family in his boyhood by a learned kinsman who had escorted Queen Philippa to England,[2] he himself had lived to introduce the good Queen Anne to her Lord: he had fought at Winchelsea and Najera: had suffered captivity in France: and had been entrusted by the Prince of Wales with the education of his son.[3] The Queen wept for him on her knees;[4] the Earl of Derby battled for him.[5] For more than three weeks Richard held out with honourable persistence, but Gloucester was inexorable, and told him that he must sacrifice Burley or his Crown.[6] On the 5th May the Lords declared Burley guilty of having 'conspired the destruction' of those who moved for the Commission of Council, 'which article had been adjudged treason by the present Parliament.' On the same day he was beheaded on Tower Hill, the King having been permitted to excuse drawing and hanging out of regard to the 'Fellowship of the Garter', to

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 245. Writs were sent down to the sheriffs requiring them to administer the same oath to all men of substance; Foed. VII. 572. See the return from Lincolnshire, giving the names of 413 persons who had taken the oath; Rot. Parlt. 400.

[2] Namely, Walter Burley, S.T.P., a Merton man, and author of "De vita ac moribus philosophorum" and other works, Cologne, circa 1470. See Beltz, Garter, 285.

[3] Beltz, 286, citing Stow, Historical Tracts, Harleian MS. 545, f. 128.

[4] Higden, IX. 177; Gower, Pol. Poems, I. 422; Eulog. III. 372, and the MS. French chronicle cited by M. Wallon, I. 514: "La Royne fut une fois trois heures a genoulx devant le comte d'arundel."

[5] "Quamvis comes de Derby omnes vires apposuisset ejus ereptioni, ob quam causam magna dissentio orta est inter eum et Ducem Gloverniae;" Walsingham, II. 174.

[6] See his own admission when a prisoner at Calais: "Que le Roy parla a luy de Monsr Simond de Burley, & que le dit Duk respondi a Roy et disoit a luy que s'il voloit estre Roy covient estre perfourne (*sic*) & fait;" Rot. Parlt. 431.

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which Simon belonged.[1] An injudicious Mentor, he probably had inspired Richard with the exalted ideas of his prerogative that proved his ruin. The chroniclers tax him with rapacity, ostentation and irregular life.[2] Froissart, reflecting the views of the Court circle, held him 'a gentle knight and a high-minded man'.[3]

On the 12th May Beauchamp Salisbury and Berners were condemned, all on cases of treason admittedly unknown before the present Parliament; all three suffered on the same day.[4] Decrees of banishment to Ireland against the delinquent Judges disposed of the remaining lay cases.[5]

For the cases of the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Chichester further measures were necessary. Urban VI had been consulted, and he had no scruples about placing the powers of the Church at the service of a friendly Government. He translated Archbishop Neville to the see of St. Andrews, and the Bishop of Chichester to Triburna or Kilmore in Ireland. The translation to St. Andrews "was a mere mockery"; the see was not vacant, and Scotland acknowledged the rival Pope; but the translation made a formal vacancy at York, and enabled the Chancellor, Thomas of Arundel, to take the place. "The appointment to Triburna was simply banishment."[6] At the same time John Fordham, Bishop of Durham, was removed to Ely; Walter Skirlaw, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was promoted to Durham; while Ralph Erghum, Bishop of Salisbury, was relegated to Bath. In each case "the friends of the Appellants were exalted, those of the King depressed".[7]

The other measures of the Parliament were conceived in the same thoroughgoing party spirit. All the acts and

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 243; Knighton, 2727; Richard afterwards asserted that in fact he had never given his consent.

[2] Knighton, sup.; Walsingham, II. 174. See also Rot. Parlt. 179, 180.

[3] "Doux chevalier et de grand sens à mon semblant"; II. 613.

[4] Rot. Parlt. 243. Beauchamp had been Steward of the Household, and Berners had been the King's ward and playmate. They were objectionable as a court clique, not as a political party.

[5] Rot. Parlt. 244; Foed. VII. 591.

[6] See Bp. Stubbs, II. 505; Rot. Parlt. 243; Foed. 573.

[7] 3rd April; Foed. 573–576; Reg. Sacr.; Lingard, III. 166.

proceedings of the Appellants were ratified, and the judgements of the Parliament confirmed, with the proviso, however, that the new cases of treason should not be held precedents for the future. At the same time persons condemned by the Parliament were declared for ever incapable of pardon.[1] The Commons petitioned that the Queen's Bohemian attendants should be made to void the realm within a month; that the superior Courts at Westminster should be inspected (*surveux*) by the Chancellor, Treasurer and Privy Seal, and any 'insufficient' persons removed; that further provision should be made for the Chancellor, the estates of the See of York being in a dilapidated condition; and that John Holland (Lancaster's son-in-law) should also be rewarded for his services. Finally, as if to inaugurate a new constitutional era, they requested that the King would be pleased to renew his coronation oath. This being agreed to, on the 2nd June the Commons granted the wool duties, and Tunnage and Poundage, to Midsummer 1389 at existing rates.[2] Of the proceeds £20,000 would be assigned to the Appellants, for the 'costs trouble and expenses' to which they had been put, 'for the honour and profit' of the realm. On the same day Holland was created Earl of Huntingdon; while on the morrow the supposed new compact between the King and his subjects was duly ratified in Westminster Abbey. The Mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated; a sermon was preached by Courtenay; and then Richard repeated his coronation oath, and received the homage of the Peers. But "to make assurance doubly sure" the members of the two Houses were then sworn not to suffer the reversal of any 'judgement statute or ordinance' passed by that Parliament; while finally the prelates denounced the Major Excommunication against all who should break that oath, or disturb the peace and quiet of the realm.[3] Such elaborate precautions against reaction betrayed the secret trouble of the Appellants' hearts. The sequel proved that they had not

[1] See Statutes, II. 54, 55; 11 Rich. II.

[2] Rot. Parlt. III. 245; for previous rates see 220.

[3] Rot. Parlt. 246–252; Higden, IX. 183.

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formed an undue estimate either of the tenacity, or the duplicity, of their young King. On the 4th June the 'Merciless Parliament' was dismissed, having sat for 122 days. It fully deserved its name, having disgraced itself by as gross a set of judicial murders as ever were perpetrated. Still the lesson read to Richard gained for England ten years of fairly constitutional government. No change, however, had been made in the constitution, and for the time Richard remained *in statu pupillari*, "with Ministers chosen for him by Parliament."[1] He had not yet been declared of age!

Having made political capital out of Richard's disposition to make peace with France, the Appellants were again careful to announce a warlike policy. The Commons, when granting the half Subsidy in March, had requested that the proceeds might be expended on naval operations. The Earl of Arundel being still Admiral of all England, the request was readily complied with. On the 3rd June he was authorized to contract alliances and receive homages in Brittany, with a further appointment as Captain of Brest.[2] Sailing apparently in June, he entered the Seine, and burned a big ship there. At the Isle of Bréhat, off the Breton coast, he learned that *Jean le Conquérant* was in Paris, rendering homage to Charles VI.[3] Holding his course along the coast Arundel ravaged and burned the islands of Le Bas, Ushant, Raz de Seine; entered the Bay of Bourgneuf, ravaged Rhé, also Oléron, 'where the naval laws are ordained';[4] effected landings at Olonne and Marans near Rochelle, and finally returned to Hastings on the 2nd September laden with booty.[5]

With all people except the French the Appellants were willing to live at peace; and by all, except the Scots, their friendly dispositions apparently were reciprocated.[6] The

[1] Oman, Pol. Hist.

[2] Foed. VII. 578, 586. For Arundel's Muster Roll, "E. B. 1262," see Nicolas, Royal Navy, II. 327. £1,255 13*s.* 4*d.* was paid as "tuntyght", tonnage freight, for the vessels chartered; Issue Roll, Mich., 12 Rich. II.

[3] Froissart, II. 700–701.

[4] "Ubi leges maritimae conduntur;" Walsingham.

[5] Higden, IX. 177, 178; Walsingham, II. 175; Froissart, II. 701, &c.

[6] For overtures to Flanders, Spain, Portugal, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, &c., see Foed. 581–588, 594, 602; Rot. Parlt. III. 253.

Scots refused to extend the truce beyond the 19th June.[1] Obviously they had heard of the dissensions in London, and thought that their opportunity was come; and when the truce expired the big "Lairds" made ready for a raid, without consulting their pacific old king. They went about their measures so quietly, that before the English Government had taken the alarm, the heroic day of "Chevy Chase" had been lost and won.[2] CHAP. XVIII 1388

Two Scottish armies crossed the Border, one shortly after the other. The main force, under the King's second surviving son, Robert, Earl of Menteith and Fife, took the Western route, and, marching past Carlisle laid Brough in ashes.[3] The Earl of Douglas,[4] preferring to act independently, gathered a force on the East March, with the help of the brothers Dunbar, George and John, Earls respectively of March and Moray. A muster was held in the church of Southdean[5] on the upper Jed; and from that point a rapid dash was made to the gates of Newcastle. Hotspur was in command there, his father being stationed at Alnwick.[6] After a due show of skirmishing at the barriers, and an exchange of proud defiances between Douglas and Hotspur, the Scots vanished, as suddenly as they had appeared; and, on the evening of Wednesday 5th August,[7] pitched their tents at Otterburn in Redesdale. Percy had probably been taken aback by the rapidity of the Scottish movements, but he was not slow to follow, and he came upon them at Otterburn as they were preparing for an

[1] Rot. Scot. II. 92, 93.

[2] The action was fought on the 5th of August; the first alarm of a Scottish inroad was sounded in London on the 13th August; Foed. VII. 594. Misled by this Malvern, usually so correct, gives the 12th as the day when the Scots crossed the Border; Higden, IX. 185.

[3] "Burch wndyr Stane-muir;" Wyntoun, II. 337; Knighton, Cont. 2728.

[4] James, the second Earl, who succeeded his father William in 1384.

[5] "Église de Zedon"; Froissart, II. 720. Southdean, commonly pronounced "Suden", lies between Hawick and Otterburn. The church is now in ruins.

[6] Froissart, 273.

[7] See Knighton, 2728; Scotichr. II. 405; the contemporary ballad, Id. 407; and especially Rot. Parlt. Mr. Hill Burton has the 19th August, and Mr. Oman (Pol. Hist.) the 15th August; but neither gives any authority.

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evening meal.[1] Whether he approached by the direct route from Newcastle by Ponteland, or *via* Hexham, we need not inquire, because about a mile from the village of Otterburn the two roads join. From that point the road coasts the side of a hill; to the left or South it looks down on the meadows in the valley of the Rede; on the right hand or North side the road is dominated by a steep and wooded hill. Finding the Scots encamped in the meadows by the river, Hotspur divided his force, detaching a wing under Matthew Redmayne and Robert Ogle to attack the Scottish camp from the left and rear, while he remained on the height, intending, presumably, when the enemy had been routed out of their hold, to advance with his main force along the road, and so cut them off at the crossing of the little Otter burn, which joins the Rede below the village. We may also fairly assume that Percy kept partly out of sight, in a slight depression that the road undergoes half a mile from the village,[2] where his movements would be concealed. Douglas, however, detected the manœuvre, and hastened to frustrate it. Leaving his camp, camp followers, and baggage guard to their fate, he led the best of his men by a circuitous route along the meadows[3] at the foot of the hill, through the village, and past the tower, for a counter flank attack on the English right. Creeping up a little gulley he got undiscovered into the wood, and then wheeling round fell on the English on the road, as they were complacently watching the sack of the Scottish camp. Taken by surprise the English were unable to fall in or 'knit' their ranks properly together.[4] 'Right at sundown' the battle began, and a felon fight it proved to be, lasting well into the long

[1] Wyntoun, II. 339; Scotichr. II. 405, 407, 408. Froissart represents the Scots as having spent the day attacking the peel or tower at Otterburn—a very unlikely proceeding, as they never indulged in sieges during their raids.

[2] See Plan.

[3] "Per aquosa"; Scotichr. 410; "marecages," Froissart, II. 726. "Ne prirent point le chemin en allant tout droit devant eux . . . mais côtoyèrent les marecages et une montagne," &c.; Froissart. The writer had his account from good authority, but as usual he embellishes.

[4] "Thai knyt them noucht in swilk aray
As thai before awysyd were;" Wyntoun, 341.

summer's night. Douglas fell on the field; but eventually Hotspur's force was routed, and he and his brother Ralph were taken prisoners. The tables were then turned on the English who had lingered in the Scottish camp; while again Redmayne and Ogle, pressing the pursuit of the discomfited Scottish camp-guard, captured and carried off James Lindsay of Crawford, ancestor of a long line of Earls.[1] CHAP. XVIII 1388

"This was the hontynge off the Cheviat
Old men that knowen the grounde well yenoughe
Call it the battell of Otterburn." [2]

This passage gives us the origin and meaning of the name "Chivy Chase", signifying the chase or hunt in the Cheviots, colloquially known as "the Chivies". The name sprang from the ballad versions of the affair, which invert the whole course of the action, treating it as having arisen out of a gratuitous challenge to a hunt in the Cheviots addressed by Hotspur to Douglas.

Only half a Subsidy had been voted by the Merciless Parliament. With the prospect of hostilities with Scotland in view, the summons of another session had become necessary. It was opened on the 7th September, and for a change was held at Cambridge,[3] a city never before honoured by Parliament. The measures enacted show clearly that the class to which the Government looked for support was that of the landed gentry, great and small. Some regard, however, was also expressed for the interests of tenant farmers; [4] an early instance of their recognition as a class. Parliament.

[1] See in addition to the authorities above cited, Higden, IX. 187–189, where the two flank attacks come out clearly; also Walsingham, II. 176. £3,000 were voted by Parliament to Hotspur for his ransom; Issues, Devon, 239, 244. Of the many ballads to which the day gave rise the Latin poem by Thomas Barry, Provost of Bothwell, in the Scotichr. II. 406–414, must be considered the first, and the only one, to treat the affair historically. Local tradition is at sea as to the exact site of the action, the word being that it was "all about the place"—quite correctly, as there was fighting on the road, where Percy halted, fighting at the Scottish camp, and fighting on the line of the Scottish retreat.

[2] Percy, Reliques of Poetry, I. 16.

[3] Lords' Report; the session rose on the 17th October.

[4] "Husbondes et terre-tenants que . . . ne povent payer leur rentes."

CHAP. XVIII
1388
"Settlement" and "Poor" Laws.

The interests both of landlords and tenants were consulted at the expense of the unfortunate labourers. The Act,[1] besides confirming all existing Statutes of Labourers, lays the foundations of the Law of Settlement, and of the Poor Laws. The third chapter forbids 'servants or labourers', 'male or female', to leave their Hundred, Rape, or Wapentake at the end of their term of service, whether for the sake of a new engagement, or of taking up a new abode elsewhere, except under special permit, to be issued at the discretion of the Justices of the Peace.[2] Still grosser invasions of the rights of labour are the provisions that 'artificers and craftsmen[3] whose crafts and artifices are not much in need in time of August' may be compelled to work at the ingathering of the crops; and that no child who shall serve in husbandry up to twelve years of age shall afterwards be allowed to change his or her calling.[4] The fourth chapter gives a table of maximum agricultural wages[5] as clearly inadequate as any previous scheme drawn up by Parliament. Able-bodied beggars are ordered to the stocks (*ceppes*); impotent beggars to be supported for life by the town or parish where they may happen to be at the time of the passing of the Act, unless such town or parish should be able within 40 days to procure their removal to the parish of their birth.[6] The sixth chapter orders servants and labourers to practise with bows and arrows on Sundays and Feast-days, but forbids their carrying arms of any description, except under survey of a Commissioner of Array; all playing at 'idle' games such as handball or football, 'quoits, dice, throwing the stone, skittles or the like' is also inter-

[1] 12 Rich. II. cc. 3. 9.

[2] "Que nul servant &c. ne depart au fyn de son terme hors del hundred, &c., ove il est demorant, pur servir ove demorrer ayllours," &c.; c. 3. Special county seals were to be kept; cf. Foed. VII. 696.

[3] "Artificers et gentz de maystyer," &c. [4] cc. 2 and 5.

[5] The rates by the year are: bailiff, 13*s.* 4*d.* and a suit of clothes; master hind, carter, or shepherd, 10*s.*; cattle man, 6*s.* 8*d.*; female labourer or dairymaid, 6*s.*, &c. 'But less where less was wont to be given.' In Mr. Rogers's tables, 1380–1390, we find bailiffs receiving 20*s.* with 10*s.* for clothes; carters, plough men, and shepherds, 13*s.* 4*d.*, &c.; II. 333.

[6] c. 7.

dicted.[1] In connexion with the growing influence of the middling gentry we may notice the provisions for holding Quarter Sessions of Justices of the Peace, with salaries for themselves and their clerks ;[2] and a clause requiring Lords Spiritual and Temporal to contribute under certain circumstances to the 'wages' of Knights of the Shire—a liability resisted on the ground that the servants and tenants of such Lords were sufficiently represented by them.[3] The statute also contained a fresh edict against 'Provisors', an ungracious measure on the part of men who had just been indebted to Papal authority for the carrying out of their political ends.[4] Lastly a Fifteenth and Tenth were granted by Parliament for the war against the Scots.[5] The Canterbury Convocation met in October, and granted a Tenth.[6]

The Scots being disposed to be troublesome, the Government once more came round to the idea of making peace with France.[7] The French betrayed no reluctance. On the 18th of August a truce for seven months, to cover all lands between the Loire and the Rhone, had already been signed by John of Gaunt, as King's Lieutenant of Gascony.[8] Since then Charles VI had suffered a considerable reverse by the practical failure of a campaign against William of Juliers, Duke of Gueldres, an adversary whom the English had skilfully raised up at the cost of a pension of £1,000 a year.[9] On his return from the expedition Charles had

[1] "Coytes, dyces, gettere du piere, kayles (? quilles, ninepins or skittles) et altrez tielez jewez importunez."

[2] 4*s*. for each day of sitting for each justice and 2*s*. for his clerk ; not more than six justices to be appointed for each county ; c. 10. County members of Parliament had 10*s*. a day, borough members 5*s*. a day ; Modus Tenendi Parliamentum, Select Charters, 494.

[3] c. 12.

[4] c. 15 ; see the Act, 12 Rich. II ; Statutes, II. 55–60 ; Knighton, Cont. 2729, &c. ; Higden, IX. 160 ; and for Papal action in consequence, Id. 205.

[5] 2nd D. K. Report, Appendix II, p. 178 ; Stubbs ; Higden, 198.

[6] Wake, 320.

[7] See the powers conferred on the Bishop of Durham (Walter Skirlaw), William Beauchamp, Captain of Calais, and John Devereux, Steward of the Household ; 26 November ; Foed. VII. 610.

[8] Foed. 598 ; John had been appointed King's Lieutenant on the 26th May, Id. 583 ; the appointment was made in Parliament.

[9] See Foed. 535–538, 556.

CHAP. XVIII 1388

dismissed his two uncles, Berry and Burgundy, taking the reins of government into his own hands; and his new advisers, old servants of his father, and inspired with his policy, were anxious for economy and peace.[1] But the French would not act apart from their allies. All difficulties from the side of Spain had been removed, as we shall see; but the Scots were still impracticable;[2] and so, for the time, the negotiations came to nothing.

Petty ravages on either side of the Border are the only recorded incidents of the first months of the year 1389.[3] But on the 3rd May Richard, following the example of Charles VI, "took the kingdom by surprise," shook off the tutelage of the Appellants, and reinstated himself in authority. A Grand Council of magnates had been convened at Westminster. The King entered the assembly, took his seat, and then asked how old he was. The answer was obvious; he had entered on his twenty-third year. 'Then', said Richard, 'I am old enough to rule my household and my realm. Any other heir would have entered on his estate at twenty-one.'[4] Following up words with deeds, Richard then and there relieved Archbishop Arundel of the Seal,[5] and Bishop Gilbert of the keys of the Treasury. Next day William of Wykeham and Bishop Brantigham of Exeter, statesmen of approved moderation and experience, "returned to the posts of Chancellor and Treasurer"; while Edmund Stafford became Keeper of the Privy Seal.[6] On the 8th May the King proclaimed that he had taken the management of affairs into his own hands, but that all pardons and remissions granted by the last Parliament would hold good, and that no man entitled to the

[1] Charles VI was born on the 3rd December, 1368, and therefore entered on his 21st year on the 3rd December, 1388.

[2] Walsingham, II. 179. As the Scottish Chancellor, the Bishop of Dunkeld, was in France on business about this very time, we may surmise that the Scots and French had an understanding on the subject; Excheq. Rolls Scotland, III. 701.

[3] Walsingham, 180; Higden, IX. 201, 202; Knighton.

[4] Knighton, Cont. 2735; Walsingham, 181; Higden, 210.

[5] "Circa horam duodecimam;" Foed. VII. 616.

[6] Higden (Malvern), IX. 211; Knighton, Cont. sup.; Bp. Stubbs. On the 15th August, however, Gilbert was recalled to the Treasury; Higden.

benefit of any such amnesty would be molested for anything done in that Parliament.[1] But Arundel was deprived of his command as Admiral of all England and Captain of Brest, John Holland, the Earl of Huntingdon, becoming Admiral of the Western Fleet, and John, Lord Beaumont, Admiral of the Northern Fleet.[2] Three judges were removed, and four new ones appointed;[3] while the Household was purged of all officials introduced by the Appellants. In its judgement of the *coup d'État* the country was divided; but on the whole it acquiesced in a change that to most men would seem like a return to a normal state of things;[4] while the legality and moderation of the King's conduct disarmed opposition. Gloucester evidently attempted to give trouble, but Richard was too quick for him; summoned him to his presence, and when he made his appearance met him half-way, accepting his excuses before they were made.[5]

Richard made no effort to recall his banished friends or to avenge the dead. "Suffolk died the same summer in France; Robert de Vere never returned to England; the exiled judges remained for eight years longer in Ireland."[6]

Richard bought his restoration to power by accepting the acts of the Appellants; even the £20,000 voted to them were paid up.[7] In like spirit the negotiations with France were resumed, the same envoys being again accredited, with the addition of the Earl of Salisbury (14 May). On the 18th June a truce for three years was signed: all allies were to be included, and the French undertook to use their good offices with the Scots, who were inclined to hold off.[8] Two Scotsmen in the French service came over and were

[1] Foed. VII. 618. [2] H. Nicolas, II. 329. [3] Foss.

[4] The Continuator of Knighton approves, Walsingham strongly disapproves of the King's action. Malvern is guarded, but as he belonged to the Northampton party in the City he probably disapproved.

[5] Walsingham, II. 182. [6] Bp. Stubbs, II. 483.

[7] Issues, Devon, 239. So again the translation of Gilbert to St. David's was confirmed, though Hereford had not been filled up; Foed. VII. 634, 646.

[8] Foed. 622–630. The truce was to last till sunrise on the 16th August, 1392. See Higden, IX. 214, 216.

CHAP. XVIII 1389

sent on to Scotland, where they succeeded in obtaining Robert's assent. Finally on the 27th September envoys from Scotland received Richard's oath in London.[1] The delay was caused by the question of the outstanding balance of the ransom of David II, amounting to 24,000 marks or £16,000. The English would not waive their claim to this money, and the Scots were unwilling to give any fresh acknowledgement of a liability that they did not care to discharge. In the course of December receipts for the full amount were once more sent down to Berwick, and once more returned to London, to be cancelled, the Scots having failed to pay.[2]

[1] Foed. VII. 631–639; Scotichr. II. 415.

[2] Foed. 651, &c; Proceedings of the Privy Council, I. 18. The payment of the ransom was a serious matter for Robert II and his courtiers, as they had pocketed the surtax on wool voted for payment of the ransom.

CHAPTER XIX

Richard II (*continued*)

A.D. 1389–1391

Return of John of Gaunt.—His late campaign in the Peninsula.—Parliament.—*Pro forma* resignation of Ministry.—Labour Legislation.—Provisors.—Parliament.—Calais Staple to be dropped.—Foreign Relations.—Derby and Gloucester on Crusade.—Relations with the Papacy.—Parliament.—Recognition of King's Prerogative.

The Earls of Nottingham and Derby had never gone the same lengths in their opposition to Richard as the other three Appellants; and he hastened to court their support. Nottingham was confirmed in the Wardenship of the East March already conferred upon him, and made governor of Berwick and Roxburgh.[1] A sum of £1,000 was assigned to him for extra allowances (*regard*), at a Privy Council held on the 13th September at which Derby was present. But for the strenuous resistance of the Chancellor and Treasurer the King would have made the appointments for five years certain, and at the extravagant salaries of £4,000 a year in time of peace and £12,000 in time of war.[2] The Lancastrian party had now come to be the King's best bulwark against Gloucester; and Richard was sighing for the return of his absent uncle. In August shipping was ordered for John's transport home; on the 30th October Richard wrote in pressing terms begging him to lose no time. On the 19th November he landed at Plymouth;[3] and attended a Privy Council held at Reading on the 10th December, at which, through his influence, Gloucester and Arundel were allowed to appear.[4]

Return of John of Gaunt.

[1] 8 March and 12 May; Rot. Scot. II. 96, 97.
[2] Proceedings of Privy Council, I. 9, 12 a.
[3] Foed. VII. 641, 648; Higden (Malvern), IX. 218.
[4] Proceedings Privy Council, I. 17; Knighton, Cont. 2677.

CHAP. XIX
1389

In this connexion we are told that much as the King wished for the return of his uncle, the immediate prospect of his appearance had a sobering effect on Richard's conduct.[1]

His campaign.

Lancaster's Peninsular campaign had early taken a matrimonial turn. He had two unmarried daughters with him, and suitable matches were suggested for both. João of Portugal, the English ally, was unmarried; in fact as Grand Master of the Order of Avis he was under vows of celibacy; but the Church might be induced to grant a dispensation. Juan I of Castile, the English enemy, was married, but he had a son between eight and nine years old, whose hand had not yet been disposed of. The Lady Philippa, the Duke's daughter by Blanche of Lancaster, was offered to the Portuguese King; while it was suggested that the Castilian question might find a happy solution through the union of young Enrique of Castile to Katherine only child of Costanza, and so heiress of her mother's rights.[2]

The settlement of the first match offered no difficulty. In November 1386 the King of Portugal and the Duke met at Ponte de Mouro on the river Minho, between Monção and Melgaço, and settled elaborate treaties, for waging combined war on Castile on the one hand, and for the marriage of João and Philippa on the other hand. The latter business was soon disposed of. The Lady was sent to Oporto under the charge of the Archbishop of Braga, and duly married on the 2nd February 1387.[3]

The Castilian alliance should have presented no greater difficulties. It was offered to the Duke under secret instructions before he had been a month in Galicia, and if he had at all realized his position "he would have closed with it at once".[4] But the infatuated man actually believed in his title to the Crown of Castile, and what was more believed in his chances of attaining to it. He still

[1] Higden, sup. [2] See Ayala, II. 251, 261; Mariana, 861, 862.

[3] Armitage Smith, 318, 319. The dispensation was left to follow; it was granted on the 5th February by Boniface IX, the successor of Urban VI. For the numerous offspring of the marriage, many descendants of which must be living, see the Table, Armitage Smith, p. 308. [4] August 1386; Armitage Smith, 314, 315.

cherished the fond delusion that a six months' campaign, or a single pitched battle, would lay all Castile at his feet. Possessed of that belief he could afford to overlook the offer of a prospective crown for his daughter, and plead his obligations to his Portuguese ally as an excuse for avoiding a direct response one way or the other; and so John, giving an evasive answer to the Castilian envoy, pressed on to effect the reduction of Galicia, a useless undertaking. No resistance was offered in the field, and the towns mostly surrendered when summoned to surrender. But Juan, taking a lesson from Charles V, as soon as the Duke's advance was reported, had issued orders for clearing the country of everything,[1] and the English consequently were often in great straits. Meanwhile, however, the Duke had reached Orense; Pontevedra, Vigo and Bayona "surrendered at the first assault"; Ribadave, "in a strong position assailable on one side only," made a stout defence; but was ultimately stormed and sacked. By the end of the year 1386 Lancaster was master of all Galicia.[2] But the strength of his force had been seriously impaired by want, fatigue and sickness.[3]

With the spring of 1387 a more ambitious campaign was undertaken, João bringing into the field an army alleged to be ten times as strong as John's following. Late in March they concentrated at Braganza, and on the 30th of the month crossed the frontier into Leon. By Easter (7 April) they had reached the walls of Benevente, a place too strong to be attacked, and there "for all practical purposes" the invasion ended.[4] Juan had a strong force at hand at Villapando on the other side of the river Esla; while he himself moved up and down, along the line of the Douro, between Tortesillas, Toro and Zamora, determined not to risk any engagement, but to keep on the defensive. On the other hand the English seem to have suffered even more than they did in the autumn from irregular living and sickness. The archers sought to make up for lack of bread

[1] See the order dated 7 September, 1386; Ayala II. 635; Armitage Smith.
[2] Id. 322–323; Ayala, II. 251. [3] Id. [4] Armitage Smith, 224, 225.

CHAP. XIX 1387

by fatal indulgence in new wine.[1] Dysentery ensued, followed by an outbreak of plague; Lancaster himself was attacked, but thanks to the strength of his constitution he recovered. Among those who succumbed to disease at one time or another during the two campaigns were the Lords Poynings, Fitz-Walter and Scales; the two Marshals Thomas Morieux and Richard Burley; John Marmion, Hugh Hastings, Thomas Fychet and Thomas Percy, the younger brother of Hotspur.[2] At the end of two weary months the allies fell back into Portugal. French auxiliaries for Castile under the Duke of Bourbon had arrived, just in time to be too late. Juan, wisely bent on peace and not on war, made haste to pay off these belated allies, and renewed the liberal offers made to Lancaster at Orense. "This time they were accepted," the details to be settled after the Duke had returned to Bayonne. He sailed from Oporto in October 1387, but the terms of the treaty were not settled till the summer of 1388.[3] The liberality of Juan's terms proves how great the *prestige* of the English armies was; and how anxious the King of Castile was to be rid of the Duke's pretensions. Juan agreed to marry the Infante Enrique to the Lady Katherine; to pay John and Costanza an annuity of 40,000 gold francs for their lives and the life of the survivor, with a capital sum of 600,000 gold francs, to be paid in three years, by equal instalments at Bayonne. In return John and Costanza renounced and made over to Juan any right or claim that they had, or might have, to the kingdoms of Castile, Leon, or their dependencies, and pledged themselves to abandon the use of the style and arms of the same.[4] In the course of September Katherine of Lancaster was handed over to the Castilian authorities at Fuentarrabia in Guipuzcoa, and by them taken to

[1] Ayala, II. 252; Froissart, II. 494–496.

[2] Armitage Smith, 323; Ayala, 264, 266.

[3] Higden, IX. 97; Ayala, 266–269. The treaty was settled before the 26th August; Foed. VII. 587.

[4] Armitage Smith, 330, 331; Ayala, 272; Higden, sup. The levy of the necessary taxes "produced a financial crisis". For the payments to John from Spain in 1395 see Armitage Smith, 447.

Palentia, where not long afterwards she was married by the Archbishop of Seville. The wedding was a juvenile affair, but not unduly so for the times, as the bride had attained to fourteen years; the bridegroom, however, had but ten.[1] In honour of the occasion Enrique was created Prince of the Asturias, the title by which all subsequent heirs apparent of Castile have been known.[2] CHAP. XIX 1388

For John of Gaunt it must be said that he had done uncommonly well for himself, in fact far better than he ever had any right to expect.

On the 17th January 1390 a Parliament met at Westminster; the first since the King's resumption of authority. William of Wykeham in his opening speech, while alluding to the fact, was careful to dwell on the King's settled purpose of ruling his people in peace and justice. The course of the session showed how the influence of the Commons was enhanced through the contentions of Court parties. The struggle that eliminated one faction "left the other not so much victorious as dependent on the support of the Commons".[3] The Appellants had wooed the Cambridge Parliament of 1388; Richard now courted the Westminster Parliament of 1390; and, to give the Commons an opportunity of expressing an unbiased judgement on the proceedings of the Government, the Chancellor, Treasurer and members of the Privy Council all resigned their offices, begging that if any man had any complaint to make against any one of them he should come forward and speak, or else hold his tongue. Of course they were all triumphantly reinstated on the morrow, Lancaster and Gloucester retaining their seats on the Privy Council. Vainly might Richard protest that the incident should not be turned into a precedent, and that though for once he had submitted the Ministry to the judgement of Parliament, he would still remain free to appoint and dismiss such persons as he pleased. By appealing to the Commons for justification Parliament.

[1] Ayala, II. 278, 280; Armitage Smith, 331, 333.

[2] Mariana, 866. For the issue of the marriage see the Table, Armitage Smith, 300.

[3] See Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 321.

CHAP. XIX 1390

of his acts Richard had paid them a compliment the moral significance of which could not be effaced.[1]

The further course of the session ran quite in keeping with this beginning; favourable answers were given to most of the Commons' petitions, and a rather important Act passed, based in almost every particular on their requirements. In return they contented themselves with granting a prolongation of the Customs duties to Christmas, but at reduced rates, and nothing more.[2] Among the grievances complained of were the encroachments of the Courts of the Admiral, a new institution; the encroachments of the Courts of the Constable, Marshal and Steward were old matters of remonstrance. The King was fairly complaisant, but he refused to give a pledge that Acts of Parliament should not be tampered with, or subjects summoned before the Privy Council for matters properly cognizable at Common Law.[3] The Statutes of Labourers were confirmed; but the table of wages fixed at Cambridge in 1388 was abandoned, the rates for the future being left to be settled annually by the justices in quarter sessions, according to the states of the seasons, and the current rates of prices. But this relaxation, we regret to say, was not among the measures requested by the Commons. On the other hand their wishes were consulted in a prohibition issued against labourers or artificers keeping greyhounds, ferrets, snares, nets, or "harepipes", for the taking of 'game, hares or rabbits',[4] a first instalment of Game Legislation.

Provisors.

But the really important measure of the session was a confirmation of the Statute of Provisors of the 25th Edward III, with further safeguards against Papal usurpation, as concerning benefices vacant or to become vacant from the 29th January (1390) onwards. With

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 257, 258.

[2] Rot. Parlt. 262. The totals on wool were reduced from 50*s.* and 53*s.* 4*d.* to 40*s.* and 43*s.* 4*d.* from natives and aliens respectively; and the surtax on general goods from 12*d.* to 6*d.*

[3] Rot. Parlt. 266, 267. For the Admiral's Courts see Id. 282. They encroached on the jurisdiction of the harbour authorities and laid hands on dues previously received by them.

[4] "Savagyne, leveres, ou conylles."

respect to these any person accepting a benefice in contravention of the Act was subjected to the penalties of a *Praemunire*, that is to say to utter forfeiture and banishment; any person sending to Rome, or inducing the King to send to Rome, in contravention of the Act, was made liable to heavy pecuniary penalties; while life and limb would be forfeited by the man who should introduce any 'summons, sentence, or excommunication' for the like purpose; any prelate giving effect to any such 'summons, sentence, or excommunication' to forfeit his temporalities.[1] But the snake was "scotched not killed", as the Act still left the King free to treat of his own accord with the Papacy for the disposal of bishoprics, and we shall find further legislation needed to put a final end to the abuse. But the two Archbishops at once entered a protest against the measure as infringing Apostolic rights and the 'Liberty' of the Church.[2] Later, in the month of May, when the Statute was formally promulgated, a copy was forwarded to Boniface IX at Rome, with a covering letter under the seals of the King and all the lay baronage. The document begins by fiercely denouncing Provisions, but ends somewhat tamely, almost apologetically, referring to the obligations of the King's coronation oath, and humbly begging the Holy Father himself to provide a speedy remedy for the evils complained of.[3] The Crown was not yet disposed to break with the Papacy.

Urban VI had passed away at Rome a year and a half before, namely on the 18th October 1389. On the 2nd November Pietro Tomacelli was elected by the Italian Cardinals to carry on the struggle, and took the style of Boniface IX.[4] New Pope.

Richard was still careful to cultivate political friends.

[1] 13 Rich. II; Statutes, II. 61–68; Rot. Parlt. III. 266, 267, and Higden, IX. 231–233; also 225–227; where the Statute of Carlisle of the 35th Edw. I is again cited as condemning Provisions, the prohibition being wanting in the copy in the Statute book.

[2] Rot. Parlt. III. 264. Parliament rose on the 2nd March.

[3] "Festinum et salubre temperamentum apponere;" 26 May; Foed. VII. 672–674.

[4] H. Nicolas; Milman, &c.

CHAP. XIX
1390

During the Parliament John of Gaunt—no longer "*Monsieur d'Espagne*"—was created Duke of Aquitaine, with all rights and privileges appertaining to the Duchy, as if to console him for the loss of his regal style.[1] The Duke of York was a man so entirely devoted to field sports that little could be made of him as a factor in the game of politics.

> "When all the lordes to councell and to Parlyament,
> He would to hunte."

His ambition had been satisfied with the appointment to the congenial office of the Mastership of the King's Mew-house[2] and the King's Game.

> "Which was to hym without any dispeyre
> Well more comforte and great gladnesse
> Then bene a lorde of worldly greate rychesse."[3]

Still it was thought that his son Edward might be conciliated by a title; accordingly he was invested with the Earldom of Rutland, at the same time that Lancaster was created Duke of Aquitaine.[4]

The shortness of the money grant voted by the January Parliament led to the summons of another session within the year. The revenue from Easter 1389 to Easter 1390 had not reached the sum of £107,000; although the year had had the benefit of a half Subsidy. For the half year from Easter to Michaelmas 1390 the receipts fell to £28,168 4*s.* 2*d.*[5]

Parliament.

On the 12th November the Parliament met at Westminster: the Chancellor explained that although a truce had been signed for three years, little had been done towards settling the bases of a definite peace; and that the existing revenue would not meet the charges for the Scottish March, Ireland, Calais, Brest, Cherbourg and Guienne,

[1] 2nd March; Rot. Parlt. III. 263. See also Foed. VII. 687, 727.

[2] i.e. the cages where the hawks were kept at Charing.

[3] J. Hardyng, Chronicle, pp. 340, 341. Cf. J. Froissart, III. 206: "Ne viscit ne pensoit à nulle malice, ni à autre chose que d'être bien aise," &c.

[4] Rot. Parlt. 264. The charter had been sealed on the 25th February.

[5] Receipt Rolls, Easter 12 Rich. II., and Michaelmas and Easter 13 Rich. II. See Table I below.

even on a peace footing.[1] This point had been urged by him in the last Parliament.

The Commons immediately demanded the abolition of the Calais Staple, as promised in the last session. The King agreed, and a Statute was passed by which, for a short time, the Staple Ordinances of the year 1353 were restored. But with these Ordinances was revived the monstrous prohibition by which native merchants were forbidden to export or buy up ("regrate"), that is to say, practically, to deal in wool, leather or lead. The ostensible object was to attract foreign gold; but the real end was to force on the re-establishment of the Calais Staple.[2] For the encouragement of English shipping it was enacted that any goods that natives were permitted to export should be 'freighted' in native bottoms. The Scots currency having again fallen, was declared only legal tender for half its face value.[3] In return the Commons granted the wool and leather duties for three years from the 30th November, namely, the subsidy on the sack at the rate of 43*s.* 4*d.* from natives, and 46*s.* 8*d.* from aliens, and the surtax on the last of leather at £4 6*s.* 8*d.* and £4 13*s.* 4*d.* from natives and aliens respectively. Tunnage and Poundage were voted at 3*s.* and 1*s.* respectively.[4] The Chancellor, however, failed to obtain any other grant. The Commons were fully alive to the strength of their position and determined to profit by it.

Peace negotiation.

The instructions given during the course of the year to the ambassadors commissioned to treat for a final peace give a fair insight into the diplomatic situation. The English envoys were, at last, authorized to concede the "*dernier*

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 277. The Minutes of the Privy Council show that great efforts were being made to retrench; even the pensions of the Dukes of York and Gloucester were in arrear; Rot. Parlt. 278.

[2] M. Wallon, however, points out that the cry for the restitution of Calais, which the French were beginning to raise, would justify the English Government in keeping up every possible tie with the place.

[3] 14 Rich. II, Statutes; Rot. Parlt. 278–280.

[4] Rot. Parlt. 279. The reader will bear in mind that the above duties were in addition to the hereditary Customs, the *Antiqua* and *Parva*.

CHAP. XIX 1390

ressort", if necessary; and under strictest limitations as to the suzerain rights to be recognized in the King of France. In return they were to demand the whole of Guienne, to be held by 'simple' homage, to be rendered vicariously, and not in person, and 'without regard to the liege homage rendered by the King's grandfather the King Edward'. Later instructions order the agents to press for Ponthieu, and the arrears of John's ransom; the Scots and Spaniards to be kept out of the treaty, if possible.[1] So again towards Scotland: Robert II having died,[2] his successor Robert III was promptly summoned to confirm the truce; he did so without delay; but the envoys were instructed to ask for the balance of the ransom, 'a little before departing, at the end of their treaty;' and always, 'so as not to endanger the truce'.[3] In the matter of the ransom the English were strictly within their rights; but the frank release of a bad debt would have been a cheap price to pay for cordial relations with Scotland. In the spring of 1391 the receipts for the £16,000 were again sent up to the North, and again after a while returned to the Treasury.[4]

Yet the feelings of the various peoples on either side were not so embittered as to reject all opportunities for friendly intercourse. In the Channel we are told hostilities never extended to the fishermen,[5] a class generally very jealous of their rights. The high-born chivalry found compensation for the lack of actual war in friendly 'feats' of arms (*facta*

[1] April 1390; Proceedings of the Privy Council, I. 19, 22. The envoys, the Bishop of Durham, the Earl of Northumberland and John Devereux, were named 8th April; Foed. VII. 667. They crossed in June; Higden, IX. 236.

[2] Robert II died at Dundonald Castle, 19th April, 1390; Scotichr. II. 415. His son John, Earl of Carrick, was crowned at Scone, 14th August, as Robert III; Wyntoun, II. 350. Perhaps he took the name of Robert to assert his position against his ambitious brother Robert, Earl of Fife and Menteith, who had been appointed Warden of the Realm in 1388 (Acts of Parliament of Scotland, I. 551), and who retained the Wardenship and practical government of the country after his father's death.

[3] See Foed. 675, 678, 683; Proceedings Privy Council, 27, 33. Robert III confirmed the truce 16 July.

[4] Foed. 697.

[5] So Froissart, II. 526.

armorum). In March 1390 we find Nottingham the Earl Marshal,[1] Huntingdon, Thomas, Lord Clifford, John, Lord Beaumont and Peter Courtenay going over to take part in a grand tournament to be held by the younger Boucicault and two other French knights against all comers, at Saint-Inglevert, on the March of Calais and Boulogne.[2] Shortly afterwards, namely, in the first three days of May, King and Queen assisted at a grand tournament in Smithfield.[3] In immediate sequence, the 4th of May witnessed a pre-arranged duel *à outrance*, between David Lindsay of Glen Esk, the man captured at Chevy Chase, afterwards Earl of Crawford, and John Lord Welles. They fought first with lances on horseback, then on foot with battle-axes, and thirdly with daggers. In the tilt Welles was unhorsed; but, apparently, the deadly encounter ended without more serious injury on either side.[4] Again on the 28th May Nottingham ran six courses on horseback against John Dunbar, the Earl of Moray; this time the Earl Marshal was held to have done the best.[5] We hear of similar encounters between Peter Courtenay and William Dalzell; between William Douglas and Thomas, Lord Clifford; between Alexander Lindsay and Ralph, Lord Neville.[6] Finally we have another tournament in Smithfield on the 10th, 11th and 12th October, at which men of rank from France, Holland and Germany assisted, among them the Count of Ostrevant, son of the Duke of Holland, and Waleran of Saint-Pol, husband of the King's half-sister Maud Holland. The King and the Knights of the Garter were to hold the lists as challengers; and on the first day the chief honours were awarded to Richard. The presence of these distinguished foreigners gave the King an excuse for holding a special grand Court at Kennington, on the 13th October, the Translation of the Confessor, when he and the Queen

[1] So in right of his maternal grandmother, Margaret, daughter of Thomas of Brotherton, who was still living, and a widow, being relict of Lord Manny.

[2] Foed. VII. 663, 665. For full accounts see Chron. Saint-Denys, I. 672; Froissart, III. 22, 40–57.

[3] Higden, IX. 235.

[4] Id. and Wyntoun, II. 353.

[5] Higden, 236; Foed. 666.

[6] Higden, sup.; Chron. Lond. (H. Nicolas) 78; Rot. Scot. II. 103–111.

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wore their crowns and regalia in state; and Ostrevant was admitted of the Garter.[1] But these encounters did not always end so happily. A tournament held at Woodstock in December 1389 had proved fatal to John Hastings, third Earl of Pembroke, a lad of seventeen, son of the Earl taken prisoner at La Rochelle, and the last male of his House.[2]

While Nottingham and Huntingdon and the younger Baronage were thus expending their energies in mimic war, the Earl of Derby was taking advantage of the lull in politics to embark on a Crusading enterprise. His zeal for the Faith was the one memory to which years afterwards Henry on his death-bed could turn for comfort to his soul.[3] On the 20th July (1390) he sailed from Boston, on an expedition against the heathen Letts of the far North, in aid of the Teutonic Knights. On the 8th August he landed at Dantzig with fifty lances and sixty archers; from Dantzig he advanced to Königsberg, and from thence again to 'the river Memel', probably at Tilsit, where he effected a conjunction with 'King Witold', otherwise Vitovt, exiled claimant of the Duchy of Lithuania, the Marshal of Prussia, and the Grand Master of the Knights of the Sword of Livonia, all prepared for an attack on Lithuania for the reinstatement of Vitovt. The allies had to march for seven days up 'the river', presumably the Niemen, or one of its branches, in quest of a ford, and when the ford was reached the Lettish King Skirgal was found established in force on the opposite bank. The ford was carried, the archers leading the way, and the Lettish host routed (28th August). The arrival of friends from Livonia (Lyfland) enabled the allies to attack Wilna (Le Wille), the Lettish capital. The town was stormed and sacked with great slaughter, the brother of the King of Poland being among the fallen. The citadel, however, held out, and

[1] Higden, IX. 237; Mon. Evesh. 122; Riley, 522, 523; Beltz, Garter, 252, 253. At this tournament the White Hart made its appearance as the King's special badge, worn by his knights.

[2] Walsingham, II. 195; Beltz, 176.

[3] See Lancaster and York, I. 140.

defied the efforts of the allies for seven weeks, when want and sickness forced them to retire. The Letts captured during the campaign were then carried off as slaves, to be 'christianized' in Livonia and Prussia, while the Earl fell back on Königsberg. In February 1391 he moved to Dantzig, and finally in April sailed back to Hull.[1] CHAP. XIX 1391

It would seem that Gloucester was encouraged to co-operate in his nephew's work; but with less success, as, sailing in October, he never got farther than the coast of Norway; and, after being much tossed about, buried in sea-fogs, and losing some ships, finally landed at Bamborough, safe and sound, to the great joy of all the nation; town and country, we are assured, had seen him depart with great regret.[2] The popularity attributed to Gloucester is a significant circumstance. It showed how deep the distrust of the King still was.

The anti-Papal legislation of 1390 had not passed unnoticed at Rome. On the 4th February 1391 Boniface issued a Bull abrogating the whole in most sweeping terms;[3] while on the 14th April he accredited a Nuncio, one Nicholas, a Benedictine Abbot from the diocese of Modena, to discuss the matter in a more temperate spirit.[4] Richard retorted The Papacy.

[1] See 3rd D.K. Report, 35, and Beltz, 239, from the Archives of the Duchy of Lancaster; also Tout's article in the National Dictionary. The expedition cost £4,383. The Earl in the first instance had contemplated a journey through France to Barbary (pro viagio suo ordinato usque partes Barbariae), where the Saracens were said to be in very rampant mood (Higden, IX. 232; Froissart, III. 57). He was at Calais during the great tournament, but failed to obtain a safe-conduct (Chron. Saint-Denys; Higden, 235), and so turned against the Letts. His thirst for adventure, however, was not satisfied by his first journey. In 1393 he started on a second tour, which took the shape of a peaceful pilgrimage to Jerusalem, *via* the Baltic. Embarking on the 16th July he landed again at Dantzig, from whence he passed through friendly Prussia to Frankfort on the Oder, then through Bohemia to Vienna, and so by way of the Friuli to Venice. There he took ship for Rhodes, and from Rhodes again to Ramleh. After visiting the Holy City he returned to Venice, and then made his way round the slopes of the Alps through Lombardy, Piedmont, and Savoy to Burgundy, and so keeping clear of France got back to Calais. The cost was returned as £4,915; Beltz, 239, 240. Pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

[2] Foed. VII. 705; Higden, 261, 262; Walsingham, 202. An account of Gloucester's voyage is printed by Hackluyt, Voyages, I. 123.

[3] "Fuisse et esse cassa et irrita, ipsaque ex superabundante cassamus irritamus et juribus vacuamus;" Raynaldi, XXVI. 547; cited Pauli, II. 592. Higden, 248, 249.

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with a strict prohibition against the importation or execution of any Bull, prohibiting the exportation of money, and recalling all English subjects at Rome.[1] The Nuncio, in pressing for the repeal of all Statutes of Provisors or *Praemunire*, and even of proceedings by writ of *Quare impedit*[2] as destructive to the 'Liberty' of the Church, laid stress on England's need of support from Rome to counteract French schemes of aggrandizement in Italy, encouraged at Avignon.[3] Richard promised to lay the Pope's demands before Parliament, intimating that if peace continued his subjects might be able to contribute to a subsidy for which the Pope had been pressing.[4]

Parliament.

On the 3rd November Parliament met at Westminster,[5] to find a new Ministry installed in office. On the 27th September William of Wykeham had resigned the Seal, Thomas of Arundel, the Archbishop of York, the Appellants' Chancellor, being appointed to succeed him.[6] The Treasury had been in the hands of members of the same party since July 1389.[7]

The Archbishop touched upon three points: the possible renewal of the war in August: the low price of wool: and the strained relations with the Papacy consequent on recent legislation. The King, he said, was anxious for some compromise which would allow England 'to render unto Caesar the things that were Caesar's and unto God the things that were God's'.[8] On all points the Commons proved amenable to management. A half Subsidy was granted, to be raised at Easter 1392, besides a whole Subsidy, to be levied two months later, if hostilities should be resumed; and on the further condition that the King should

[1] 3 May; Foed. 698, 701, 702.

[2] This was the writ for determining the right to a presentation to a living, and commonly, as between a lay patron and a bishop.

[3] Higden, IX. 250–254; Walsingham, II. 200, 201.

[4] Higden, 254–258; Walsingham, 202. See also Wallon, II. 47, 48. In 1389 Richard had refused to allow the clergy to give a Tenth; Foed. VII. 644.

[5] Lords' Report.

[6] Foed. 707; Foss.

[7] Bishop Gilbert of Hereford was reinstated a few months after his dismissal; and was succeeded by John Waltham, the Bishop of Sarum, 2 May 1391; Pell Roll.

[8] Rot. Parlt. III. 284.

take a personal part in the war, by taking a 'voyage' either to France or Scotland.[1] CHAP. XIX 1391

The low price of wool to which the Chancellor referred was the natural result, in fact the contemplated result, of the stagnation in trade caused by the legislation of the previous year, when native merchants were forbidden to deal in wool, foreign merchants not having yet had time to come forward.[2] The prohibition was now rescinded, and natives were allowed to deal in wool under the Staple regulations of 1353 till Midsummer, after which time the objectionable Calais Staple would be re-established.[3]

With respect to the Statutes of Provisors we are told that the King and Lancaster were inclined to defer to the Pope's wishes, but that the Commons refused to allow those measures to be repealed; as a concession, however, they agreed to give the King for a limited time Parliamentary authority to grant special exemptions.[4] As the King had granted,[5] and would certainly continue to grant, such exemptions by virtue of his ordinary prerogative, the Commons' sanction was given doubtless in the hope of acquiring the power of regulating that which they could not prevent.

As if to efface all unpleasant recollections of the year 1388 the Commons at the close of the session presented a petition to which the Royal assent was granted in the frankest manner; the prayer was that, notwithstanding any 'statute or ordinance' theretofore passed, and specially notwithstanding any 'statute' passed in the time of Edward II, the King should stand and be as free in his prerogative[6] and royal dignity as any of his predecessors.[7]

The Statute published at the close of this session

[1] Id. 285. The clergy in their provincial assemblies likewise granted half Tenths, December; Wake, 322.

[2] So Knighton, Cont. 2737.

[3] Rot. Parlt. III. 285, 295, 319, 322; and Statute, 15 Rich. II, c. 8.

[4] Rot. Parlt. 285; Higden, IX. 262; Walsingham, sup.

[5] Foed. VII. 701, 702.

[6] "Regalie."

[7] Rot. Parlt. 286. A petition to the same effect had been presented and granted in the last Parliament; Id. 277. Bishop Stubbs considered that this renunciation of political opposition had been stipulated by Richard "as a condition of the promotion of the Arundels".

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contained a fresh prohibition against alienations in "mortmain". Parsons and other 'men of religion' were forbidden to acquire lands by way of addition to their churchyards; and the prohibition of the Statute *De Religiosis*[1] was declared applicable to lands held by trustees 'to the use' of corporations, whether ecclesiastical or municipal, trade gilds being expressly named among the latter.[2]

The Knights of the Shire again wished for power to seize runaway 'natives' within the walls of chartered towns; and all the Commons wished to prohibit the sons of natives from 'advancing' themselves through education and Holy Orders; but the King to his credit again withheld his consent.[3]

[1] 7 Edw. I, st. 2.

[2] Rot. Parlt. III. 291; 15 Rich. II, c. 5. For a clear exposition of the purpose of the enactment see Knighton, Cont. 2738.

[3] Rot. Parlt. 294, 296.

CHAPTER XX

Richard II (*continued*)

A.D. 1392–1394

The Lollards.—Foreign Affairs.—Truce only, no Peace.—Quarrel with the Londoners.—Parliament at Winchester.—Statute of *Praemunire*.—Brigandage.—Peace negotiations.—Restitution of Cherbourg to Navarre.—Parliament.—Further negotiations.—Death of Queen Anne.

The Lollards.

The jealousy of Papal aggression and ecclesiastical pretensions evinced by the Parliament of 1391 were evidences of the enduring popularity of Wycliffite principles, and the strength of the Wycliffite party. Lollardism had not been crushed by the measures of 1382 or the death of Wycliffe. The efforts of the Church, powerless for purposes of repression, "were effective in rousing the temper of the Lollards into a bitter fanaticism. . . . One Lollard gentleman took home the sacramental wafer and lunched on it with wine and oysters."[1] Two men at Leicester broke up a wooden image of St. Katherine to boil their broth. Popular Madonnas were stigmatized, one as 'the Witch of Walsingham', another as 'the witch of Lincoln'.[2] In the course of 1387 Nicholas Hereford and John Aston had again fallen under anathema for unlicensed preaching: associated with them we find John Purvey, Wycliffe's collaborator in the work of translating the Scriptures. Among their aristocratic supporters were William Neville, Louis Clifford, John Montagu, Richard Stury, John Clanvow, and Thomas Latimer.[3] Archbishop Courtenay endeavoured to influence the Lords Appellants for a renewal of the persecu-

[1] Green, Short Hist. I. 496; Walsingham, I. 450.

[2] Knighton, Cont. 2662, 2736; Wilkins, Conc. III. 208–211.

[3] Wilkins, 202; Knighton, Cont. 2660, 2661; Walsingham, II. 159. In 1389 Neville, Clifford, Clanvow, and Stury were among the King's confidential servants on the Privy Council.

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tion. Papers exhibiting the latest teaching of the 'heretics' were produced during the sitting of the Merciless Parliament. The articles attributed to the Lollards included the entire rejection of all Papal or episcopal authority to bind or to loose; the rejection of any Real Presence; of Indulgences; auricular confession; image worship; invocation of Saints; observance of Saints' days. On the other hand they laid stress on the importance of preaching, and the obligation of personal residence and ministry on the part of beneficed clergymen.[1] Neither Gloucester nor Derby had any feeling for the Wycliffites, but it was found impracticable to move Parliament in the desired direction. Accordingly the matter was referred to the prelates, with directions to use their canonical authority for the suppression of error; and writs were issued directing search to be made for heretical writings.[2] Latimer was summoned before the Privy Council for having questionable works in his possession, but no effective measures were taken.[3] In 1389 we hear of Lollards establishing themselves as a dissenting communion, with ministers of their own ordination.[4]

It was understood that the half Subsidy granted in December had been voted for the expenses of a grand embassy to France.[5] The Commons wished for peace; and as a suitable negotiator they suggested "*Monsieur de Guyen*" as being 'the most sufficient person of the realm'; [6]—so completely had John's position in popular estimation veered round. On the 22nd February 1392 the

[1] Knighton, Cont. 2707.

[2] Knighton, Cont. 2708; Wilkins, Conc. III. 204; 30 March 1388. Four Inquisitors were appointed by the King on the 23rd May, 1388; they were authorized to call on the sheriffs to imprison all persons who refused to give up heretical writings; Knighton, Cont. 2709.

[3] May 1388; Devon, Issues, 236; Knighton, Cont. sup. In 1389 Archbishop Courtenay made a raid on the Leicester Lollards, and forced some of them to recant, including one of the men who had destroyed the image of St. Katherine; Wilkins, 208; Knighton, Cont. 2736.

[4] Walsingham, II. 188, diocese of Sarum. Cf. Knighton, Cont. 2738.

[5] Knighton, Cont. 2739.

[6] "A cause qu'il est le pluis sufficeant persone de Roialme;" Rot. Parlt. III. 286. In Aquitaine he was so unpopular that he had to disclaim his rights; Higden, IX. 263, 264.

Negotiations for peace.

Duke was named King's Lieutenant in Picardy; in the course of March he crossed the Channel, accompanied by his nephew the Earl of Rutland and the Bishop of Durham. The French gave them a magnificent reception, escorting them with 1,000 horses, free of all cost, to Amiens; and there on the 25th of the month Lancaster was received in state by Charles VI.[1] In the business discussions that ensued the Duke adhered strictly to the instructions drawn up in April 1390, demanding the arrears of John's ransom, and the entirety of Guienne as the price of peace.[2] The demand was, if possible, more ridiculous than ever, as the French had recently gained a clear diplomatic victory over the English, by effecting a final accord with the Duke of Brittany.[3] An extension of the truce to Michaelmas 1393 was the only fruit of the conference.[4] Yet Charles VI was sincerely desirous of peace; and pressed Lancaster for England's consent to a joint crusade against the Turk, for the defence of Hungary and Constantinople.[5] Four months later the unfortunate Charles became a helpless maniac.[6]

The rejection of the English demands was laid before a Grand Council of Magnates, which was opened at Stamford on the 25th of May.[7] It was said that the King and Lancaster were inclined to yield somewhat for the sake of peace, but that Gloucester was contrary, and that they were afraid of giving him an opportunity of appealing to the warlike passions of the nation.[8]

[1] Devon, Issues, 246; Knighton, Cont. 2739; Chron. Saint-Denys, I. 734–736; Froissart, III. 141.

[2] J. J. des Ursins, 375; Chron. Saint-Denys, 740; Froissart, 144. Cf. above, p. 275, and Proceedings of the Privy Council, I. 19.

[3] See Wallon, II. 51, 415; citing Morice, Hist. Bretagne, II. 585. The treaty was signed at Tours, 26 January, 1392; the Duke agreed to marry his son Jean to Jeanne, second daughter of Charles VI.

[4] 8th April; Foed. VII. 723, see also 714; Higden, IX. 265; Walter Trail, Bishop of St. Andrews, attended the conference on behalf of Scotland; Wyntoun, II. 363; Excheq. Rolls Scotland, III. 275.

[5] Froissart, sup.

[6] 5 August; Chron. Saint-Denys, II. 19: the writer was in the King's retinue at the time. Cf. Froissart, 156–160; J. J. des Ursins, 377.

[7] Higden, 265; Mon. Evesh. 124; Knighton, Cont. 2740.

[8] Froissart, III. 143, 144; Higden, 267.

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Another matter laid before the Magnates reads in some respects like a return to the days of Henry III. Richard had applied to the City of London for a loan of £1,000; the citizens, who doubtless thought that they were living under a strictly constitutional *régime*, refused. Richard then turned to a Lombard, who promptly found the money. The King, somewhat surprised, asked him how he had come so readily by the amount; and when told that it had been advanced by Londoners, was beyond measure incensed,[1] and, to punish the citizens, ordered the Courts of Common Pleas and Exchequer to be removed to York,[2] a most oppressive and unpopular measure. Disturbances ensued, of which the King took a personal view, the friendly Lombard having been mobbed and beaten.[3] Richard's complaints against the Londoners were laid before the Stamford Council, and, with their approval, the Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen and other leading citizens, forty-eight men in all, were ordered to present themselves at Nottingham on the 25th June.[4] When they appeared the Mayor and Sheriffs were apprehended and sent to different castles in confinement; the City was taken into hand, and a Royal Warden appointed. An inquiry into the state of the municipal government held at Windsor on the 22nd July gave the Queen and the Royal Dukes an opportunity of intervening as mediators, for which Gloucester, for one, got no thanks.[5] A reconciliation was finally effected on the 21st August,[6] when the King condescended to come to London. He was received with all the pomp of a coronation entry. Coming from Sheen (Richmond) he was met at Wandsworth by the Aldermen, headed by the Warden, and followed by the trade Gilds in their proper liveries; the Bishop of London and his clergy met him at St. George's, Southwark. The

[1] Higden, IX. 270; Walsingham, II. 207, 208.
[2] 30 March; Foed. VII. 213, 214; Higden, 267.
[3] Walsingham, 208.
[4] Higden, 268; Lords' Report, Appendix, IV. 741; Knighton, Cont. 2740.
[5] An appointment that Gloucester had received as King's Lieutenant of Ireland was cancelled next day. See below, 298.
[6] Higden, 274; Wednesday after the Assumption (15 August); Knighton.

streets from London Bridge to Westminster were draped with costliest hangings; the most precious offerings were presented at different stages in the progress. Thus we have 'To the King a table of the Trinitie in gold, worth eight hundred pound; To the Queen another of St. Anne, because her name was Anne'.[1] Horses, trappings, cups and jewels without number were presented; but for all that the good citizens found that their franchises would not be restored without a payment of £10,000 in hard cash.[2] CHAP. XX 1392

On the 20th January 1393 a Parliament met at Winchester.[3] Supply and 'Provisors' were the matters to which Chancellor Arundel invited attention, the King, he said, being anxious to avoid a rupture with the Papacy. On both points Arundel was again successful in his management of the Houses. The wool duties were granted for three years more from the 30th November, with Tunnage and Poundage, all at existing rates; subject as to the latter to an abatement of one half if the truce should be prolonged, and if the King should fail to undertake any personal voyage 'to Ireland Scotland or elsewhere oversea'. Three half Subsidies were also granted: one to be raised at Midsummer in any case; another by the 2nd November; the proceeds, however, to be kept in hand by the Treasurer, if no 'voyage' to Ireland or Scotland should have taken place; the third to be exigible on the 2nd February 1394, but only in the event of a renewal of the war, and of an actual expedition having been undertaken by the King.[4] Parliament.

In the matter of Provisors the Commons showed themselves more disposed to trust the King than they had done The Papacy.

[1] See the full and instructive description of the whole pageant in the poem by the Carmelite Richard of Maidstone, Pol. Poems, I. 294, &c.; also Higden, IX. 274. It appears that the two 'tables' were altar fronts, and that the 'Table of the Trinity' had a representation of the Crucifixion in relief.

[2] See Knighton, Cont. sup.; Walsingham, II. 207–211; Mon. Evesh. sup.; Chron. Lond.; Foed. VII. 727–739. The receipt for the £10,000 is dated 28 February, 1393. The money was raised by an assessment of 40 pence in the £1 of all tenements; Rot. Parlt. III. 325.

[3] Lords' Report; the session lasted till the 10th February.

[4] Rot. Parlt. 300–302. The two Convocations met in March; Wake, 323; and according to Walsingham granted half Tenths each, II. 212.

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in 1390; giving him power, not merely to grant exemptions from, but even to make 'modifications' in, the Statute itself; such modifications to be made with the assent of the Lords in Council, and laid before Parliament at its next meeting.[1]

This arrangement sounds a curious preliminary to the passing of the great statute of *Praemunire*, the most anti-papal Act of Parliament passed prior to the reign of Henry VIII; the Act from which the rapid decline of Papal authority in England is commonly dated.[2]

The seeming incongruity may be explained in few words. The Statutes of Provisors and *Praemunire*, though closely connected and in fact interwoven, ought still to be distinguished. The Statutes of Provisors, in the strict sense, forbade any man to take English preferment by virtue of a Papal appointment. The penalties of *Praemunire* were decerned against persons introducing Bulls or sentences to enforce Papal decrees, whether in the matter of church preferment, or otherwise. But we have seen again and again, as a matter of fact, that Papal appointments were often an actual convenience to the Government. For one thing, a bishop could not be translated from one See to another without the intervention of the Pope; and in many other ways the concurrence of the Holy See enabled the King to get things done that could not be done without it. The Government was not disposed to deprive itself of this useful instrument, but it was determined to suppress all Papal interference not convenient to itself. The present action of the Government had doubtless been called forth by an attempt on the part of Boniface to force Cardinal Brancaccio into a prebendal stall at Wells, which had already been given by the King to another man.[3] The petition on which the Act was based made two averments; one that

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 301. Cf. p. 317.

[2] Lingard suggests that the Act was merely an Ordinance passed by virtue of the foregoing authority; but the petition on which the Act is based was certainly presented in Parliament; and I see no reason to doubt that the Act was passed in the regular manner.

[3] Foed. VII. 734; Lingard, III. 172.

the Pope had recently issued letters of excommunication against English prelates for giving effect to orders addressed to them in the regular course by the courts of the realm; the other that it was commonly reported that the Pope intended to translate certain English bishops, without consulting either the King or the bishops concerned. The spiritual lords were challenged for a declaration of opinion on these facts. Courtenay's answer was worthy of his position as a churchman and a statesman. He said that without affirming that the Holy Father might not lawfully excommunicate a bishop for due canonical cause; and without affirming that he might not translate a bishop; yet if any bishop or other subject had been excommunicated for such cause as alleged; and if any bishop were to be translated in the manner alleged, without regard for the rights of the King or bishop, such act would be an infringement of the royal prerogative,[1] and that on such a point he personally would elect to stand by his King.[2]

This answer settled the question. The operative words of the Act impose the penalties of outlawry forfeiture and imprisonment on any person who should procure, introduce, or publish any translation, sentence of excommunication, or Bull touching the King's prerogative.[3] But the mere acceptance of a benefice under a Papal Provision is no longer made penal.

The records of Parliament show how feeble the law still was in its dealings with powerful offenders. The last Parliament had asked for a statutory declaration that no man should be called to answer for his freehold before the 'council' (i.e. the baronial court) of any private lord or lady. The request was granted, but no penalty was specified:[4] the Commons having now asked for a penalty, the King fixed the very inadequate sum of £20 as a suitable fine. To check party organizations for illegal

[1] "Contre le Roi et sa couronne."

[2] "Il voet estere ove ... le Roi e ove sa corone en cel cas a son poair;" Rot. Parlt. III. 304. See also 204.

[3] 16 Rich. II, c. 5, Statutes, II. 84.

[4] 15 Rich. II, c. 12.

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1393

purposes lords were forbidden to give 'livery of fellowship', i.e. personal badges, to any person below the rank of an esquire, not actually residing in the household as a domestic.[1]

The Parliament of 1390 had placed stringent limitations on the granting of pardons to persons found guilty of murder or felony.[2] It was now found that this was used as a means of crushing the innocent.[3] The publicity given by Parliament to such misdeeds, however, was the first step towards their suppression. Not a Parliament passes without some case of cruel hardship being exposed that must otherwise have passed unknown and unredressed.[4]

Brigandage.

The armed brigandage carried on under the sheltering jurisdictions of Lancaster and Chester has been noticed more than once. A petition presented to this Parliament gives fresh evidence of the iniquities that could be perpetrated under the Palatine system. Not only were the misdoers safe when they got home;—as the Palatine jurisdictions took no cognizance of crimes committed beyond their borders;—but merchants and other peaceable 'strangers', venturing within the limits of the 'Pale', were liable to be arrested by way of reprisals for alleged wrongs done to 'Pale' men elsewhere.[5] The King, however, again declined to interfere with the privileges of his uncles.[6].

If the Commons really wished for peace they certainly made their grants in such a shape as to give the King every excuse for renewing the war. Richard, however, held to his pacific purpose; he had no taste for soldiering himself, and he doubtless did not wish to give others opportunities of acquiring dangerous popularity. John of Gaunt was again instructed to treat for peace, Gloucester being associated with him this time.[7]

[1] 16 Rich. II, 2, 4.
[2] 13 Rich. II, st. 2, c. 1.
[3] 16 Rich. II, c. 6.
[4] Even Parliament gave no security for justice; see Rot. Parlt. III. 310 for a ratification of an apparently gross act of usurpation committed by Richard Lord Scrope of Bolton and his son William.
[5] Rot. Parlt. 308.
[6] Gloucester was Justiciar of Chester and John of Gaunt, of course, of Lancaster.
[7] 22 February; Foed. VII. 737–739. Lancaster was again named King's Lieutenant for Picardy.

The King of France, who had recovered his reason for the time, came down to Abbeville for Easter (6 April). The conferences were opened in the time-honoured chapel at Leulinghem in the following week; on the 28th of April the truce was prolonged to Michaelmas 1394. Next day the negotiators adjourned for three weeks to consult their respective Governments.[1] It was rumoured at Abbeville that the French were disposed to cede Turbes, Bigorre, the Agenois and Périgord; but that Gloucester was still very stiff in his demands.[2]

But suddenly the English Dukes found themselves called upon to hasten home. In their absence a mysterious rising against their authority had been plotted, and, to a certain extent carried out. The movement extended to Cheshire, Lancashire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire and Leicestershire.[3] A chronicler, in a muddled account, represents the people as having turned out in their thousands on the strength of silly rumours that the two Dukes were disloyal subjects, and aiming at independence.[4] The only intelligible meaning that we can give to the movement is that it was a spasmodic effort to break down the Palatine franchises, and get rid of Palatine brigandage. Palatine 'liberties' are specially mentioned as a matter in dispute.[5] The leader denounced by the Government was one Thomas Talbot, knight,[6] presumably member of a family distinctively connected with the Welsh March. But we also hear that the Earl of Arundel was taxed by Lancaster with having abetted the movement, and even with having gathered men at his castle at Holt in Denbighshire in support of it.[7] But the Earl as heir of the Fitz-Alans was

[1] Chron. Saint-Denys, II. 74–78; Foed. VII. 748. The truce was proclaimed in England on the 26th June; next day commissioners were named to take the oath of the King of Scots, but he had not yet taken it on the 26th October; Id. 748, 759.

[2] So Froissart, who was there at the time; II. 188. The Saint-Denys writer, who was there also, asserts that nothing was known of the state of the negotiations.

[3] See the Proclamation, Foed. 746.

[4] Annales Ric., II. 159 (Rolls Series, No. 28, vol. II; H. T. Riley).

[5] Ann. Ric. sup.

[6] He was outlawed 28 February 1394; Rot. Parlt. III. 314.

[7] Ann. Ric. 162; Walsingham, II. 214.

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also Lord of Oswestry and Clun, and so doubly exposed to the attacks of Cheshire and Lancashire brigands. But the movement came to nothing. Lancaster hastened down with a proclamation against disturbers of the peace, and a commission of Trailbaston, and so restored 'order', or rather, perhaps, we might say, liberty of brigandage.[1]

On the 21st May the English envoys crossed over again to Calais, and the conferences were resumed. But a return of Charles's malady cut short the business.[2]

More creditable to Richard and his advisers, even than strivings after peace, was the honourable fulfilment of a contract, by the restitution of Cherbourg to its lord, the young King of Navarre, Charles III, surnamed the Noble. The fortress had been placed in the hands of the English in 1378, as a security for an advance of 25,000 "francs".[3] Richard's three uncles with five earls had pledged their honour in the most solemn manner that Cherbourg should be restored at any time on repayment of the loan. Charles now tendered the money, and demanded his own again. The French of course were the chief movers in the matter, and they found the francs; but Richard's obligation was not the less clear. On the 21st January 1394 the receipt for the money was sealed, and the final order for the surrender of the place issued.[4]

Parliament.

Six days later a Parliament met at Westminster. The session opened with a quarrel between Lancaster and Arundel. The Duke, as we have seen, had accused the Earl of having abetted the rising of the previous year. The

[1] Foed. sup., 6 May; Walsingham, sup.; Ann. Ric., vol. II. 160, 161. The latter authority mixes up the movement of 1393 with the Beckwith affair, a totally different business. William Beckwith, having been ousted by Lancaster's officers from a hereditary office that he claimed to hold in the Forest of Knaresborough (1390), flew to the woods as an outlaw and gave much trouble, but was apprehended and executed in 1391; Higden, IX. 239, 265.

[2] Chron. Saint-Denys, II. 80, 82; Des Ursins, 381; Froissart.

[3] Devon, Issues, 208; £2,312 10s. paid.

[4] Foed. VII. 756, 759, 764. For English negotiations with Brittany in 1393 see Proceedings of the Privy Council, I. 41, 47; Wallon, II. 65. The English asked for the practical control of the whole duchy in return for a re-grant of the earldom of Richmond, which had been taken from the Duke in 1384; Rot. Parlt. III. 279.

Earl now, very rashly, took up the cudgels, preferring a set of most preposterous charges against Lancaster. He complained of the Duke's arrogance at the Council board; of his presumption in walking arm-in-arm[1] with the King; of the money he had received (from Parliament) for his Spanish expedition; of his management of the peace negotiations, &c., &c. Richard, who now looked to Lancaster for support against Gloucester, took the matter up warmly, giving a categorical answer to each point urged by Arundel, and finally compelled him to make a set apology to the Duke. The apology is interesting, if only as a specimen of the English then spoken at court. "Sire sith that hit semeth to the Kyng and to the other Lordes, and eke that yhe ben so mychel greved and displeisid be my wordes, Hit forthynketh me, and byseche yowe of your gode Lordship to remyt me your mau-talent."[2] Arundel lived to repent of his rashness, as we shall see. CHAP. XX 1394

The question of the session was that of the concessions to be made to France as the price of peace. The Lords said that they would be content if only "liege" homage were remitted, and if the King would reserve the right to resume the style of France 'if the peace were infringed by the Adversary'; and provided also that the terms were so arranged as to leave no loophole for any future 'confiscation'. The Commons showed the old anxiety not to be inveigled into any snare. To prevent any mistake they gave their answer in writing, through the Speaker, John Bushey, knight. With respect to three points, namely "Liege" homage, "*Soveraignete*" (Suzerainty?), and "Ressort" they begged to be discharged from giving any answer, the matters being 'too high and weighty' for them, and the rights implied so undefined.[3] But if the Lords thought that under due definition (*moderation*) homage might be rendered for Guienne, then, for the sake of 'good peace', they were prepared to consent. But they renewed Terms of peace.

[1] Aler en mayne et brace du Roi . . . aler en sa main ou brace.
[2] 'ill-will;' Rot. Parlt. III. 313, 314.
[3] "A cause que nulle moderation d'icelles est unqore faite."

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the old stipulation made in 1340, early in the war, that the assumption of the title of King of France should not involve any subjection of the crown of England to that of France.[1]

In the matter of supply the second of the half Subsidies voted conditionally in the last Parliament was ordered to be handed over; while Tunnage and Poundage were continued at the full rates, notwithstanding the subsistence of the truce, and though the King had not undertaken any voyage of any kind.[2]

The quarrel of the previous year with the Londoners had suggested the expediency of modifying the civic constitution in a conservative direction: it was enacted that the aldermen should no longer vacate office at the end of the year, but that they should continue 'until removed for reasonable cause'; the evident object being to create a close corporation amenable to court influence.[3]

The other provisions of the Act published at the close of the session were either mercantile or remedial: leave was given to export corn, corn being cheap: and manufacturers of 'single-worsteds' were relieved from the obligation of shipping their goods to Calais.

Parliament inclining towards peace, active negotiations were resumed, in which Lancaster was again given the leading part,[4] but Gloucester, as being hostile to peace, was left out: to fill the second part York for once was induced to leave his hawks and his hounds. The Dukes of Berri and Burgundy again met them at Leulinghem, after Easter (19th April). It seemed as if something definite would surely be arranged this time; but a prolongation of the truce for four years to Michaelmas 1398 was all that was effected (27 May).[5] In justice to the English diplomatists it must be said that the French were apparently demanding

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 314, 315. See above, I. 274.

[2] Rot. Parlt. 314–316. According to Walsingham, II. 214, both Convocations gave Tenths; see also Wake, 324.

[3] Rot. Parlt. 317; 17 Rich. II, c. 11.

[4] 10 March; Foed. VII. 766.

[5] Foed. 769, &c. The truce was confirmed by Richard, 5th June; Id. 776; Chron. Saint-Denys, II. 138.

the surrender of Calais, a point that no English ministry could have entertained for one moment.[1] CHAP. XX 1394

But French feeling on the subject was asserting itself unmistakably.

> "Bochiers dist à Margot la broigne[2]
> Que l'en aloit au trattié à Boulogne,
> Et que François et Englois feront paix.
> Elle repond. Foy que doy Magueloigne
> Paix n'arez jà s'ilz ne rendent Calays."[3]

During the summer England was bereft of her three ladies of the highest rank. John of Gaunt on returning from Calais found himself again a widower, his much enduring wife Costanza of Castile having passed away on the 24th March.[4] On the 7th June Queen Anne of Bohemia "the goode Lady" died at Sheen, i.e. Richmond;[5] while about the first day of July Mary Bohun, Countess of Derby, died of childbirth at Leicester.[6] Her half of the Hereford estates had made Bolingbroke "a great landowner" even in his father's lifetime. On the 5th July the Duchess of Lancaster was laid in her grave at Leicester; and next day her step-daughter-in-law was interred beside her.[7] The national loss was that of the Queen; her premature death deprived the King of a gentle soothing influence, and left him free to run his mad career. His passionate grief betrayed the petulance of a spoiled child. The royal manor house where Anne died was ordered to be destroyed. For a whole year he refused to enter any house

[1] See Eulog. III. 369. Froissart gives this as one of the French demands from the year 1391; III. 144, 186.

[2] 'Stout,' Wright.

[3] 'By the faith I owe to Magdalen.' See the ballad of the time by Eustache Deschamps, "the friend and admirer of our Chaucer"; Pol. Poems, I. 300.

[4] So her obit in John of Gaunt's Will; Armitage Smith, 429; 25 March, Higden, IX. 283. "Mulier super faeminas innocens et devota;" Walsingham, II. 214.

[5] Higden, sup. "Mulier . . . Deo data . . . fautrix pauperum et Ecclesiae;" Ann. Ric. 168; "Graciosa et regno Angliae in quantum potuit proficua;" Mon. Evesh. 125; Usk, 8. Wardrobe Account 67/16.

[6] Higden, sup.

[7] Knighton, Cont. 2741; Ann. Ric. 168. Isabel of Castile, the Duchess of York, had died 23 December, 1392; Higden, 278; Foed. VII. 740.

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where they had rested together.[1] On the 3rd August the Queen was buried in Westminster Abbey;[2] during the obsequies the King gave way to an outrageous fit of temper, provoked, no doubt, by the persistent folly and bad manners of the Earl of Arundel. He, with other magnates, had been ordered to attend the procession all the way from Sheen to Westminster; but instead of doing so contented himself with appearing at the church door, somewhat late; and then, almost immediately, asked to be allowed to retire. Richard in a fury snatched a wand from one of the vergers, and struck the Earl such a blow on the head that he felled him to the ground, drawing blood, and so, in ecclesiastical language, "polluting the church". This outbreak threw everything into confusion, as the funeral had to be suspended, till the church had been formally purified and reconsecrated, the whole rites lasting till nightfall.[3]

[1] Usk and Mon. Evesh. sup.

[2] Foed. VII. 776.

[3] Foed. sup.; Ann. Ric. 169, 424; Walsingham, II. 215. Arundel was sent to the Tower the same day, but released at the end of a week; Foed. 784, 785. The monument erected to Anne by the King may be seen in Westminster Abbey beside his tomb.

CHAPTER XXI

RICHARD II (*continued*)

A.D. 1394–1396

Royal Visit to Ireland.—State of the Dominion.—A Parliament.—The King, the Lollards, and the Papacy.—Marriage of the King to Isabelle of France.—Long truce with France.—The Paper Schism.—The Primacy.

RICHARD in his grief sought for distraction in an expedition to Ireland. A Royal visit to the Dominion was greatly needed; a second century had almost elapsed since the Sister Isle had been visited by an English King; the sphere of Royal authority had shrunk to the narrowest limits. Yet Richard's action was probably prompted more by the wish to please the English public, and to satisfy the Parliamentary cry for a 'voyage', than from any statesmanlike considerations.

At the point that we have reached, outside Leinster little except the seaport and corporate towns could be said to acknowledge English rule; and even within the bounds of Leinster the line of representation to Dermod MacMurragh had been carefully kept up, in accordance with native custom, and so, as 'King of Leinster', Art MacMurragh was defying the English, who were content to purchase his forbearance by a yearly 'pension' of 80 marks.[1] Of the conquering Anglo-Norman leaders amongst whom Ireland had been nominally divided two centuries before "there survived at this period in the direct male line but the Geraldines of Kildare and of Desmond, and the family of Le Botiller (Butler) represented by the Earl of Ormonde".[2] The Earldom of Ulster "had entirely disappeared"; [3] the de Burghs of Connaught had taken the name of MacWilliam, and ruled rather as native kings than as English barons.

[1] See Gilbert, Viceroys, 265, 266, 552; and Graves, Irish Council Roll, 16 Rich. II, xix (Rolls Series, No. 69).

[2] Gilbert, sup.

[3] The title might be considered as vested in Roger Earl of March as representing his grandmother, Elisabeth de Burgh.

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The native gentry were raising their heads, and recovering lands of which they had been dispossessed; the Statutes of Kilkenny of 1367 had altogether failed to prevent the settlers from adopting the dress, language and customs of the natives. The most successful Viceroy of the reign had been Edmund, Earl of March, the husband of Philippa of Clarence. But he drew £4,444 6*s.* 8*d.* from the English Exchequer, besides all the Irish revenues.[1] He ruled from the 22nd October 1379 to December 1381;[2] but his western limit in Ulster was the river Bann, and that was only maintained with the help of a fort on the river, established by him near Coleraine; whilst towards Connaught his nominal lordship does not appear to have extended beyond the frontier castle of Athlone, "which he recovered from O'Connor."[3] An itinerary of James III Earl of Ormonde, as Justiciar of Ireland 1392–1393, gives Drogheda, Trim, Naas, Carlow, Kilkenny and Waterford as the outer circle of his peregrinations.[4] Difficulty was often experienced in getting Irish noblemen of position to take the post of Viceroy, and the government was mostly carried on by Irish prelates or English gentlemen of secondary rank.[5] De Vere never set foot in Ireland from the time of his appointment. In May 1392 Gloucester had been named King's Lieutenant for fifteen years, with a salary of 34,000 marks a year for the first three years. But before he had time to make his arrangements the appointment was suddenly cancelled, namely on the 23rd July, apparently for the support that he had given the Londoners at Windsor on the previous day.[6]

Richard's 'voyage' was announced on the 1st July (1394), and a preliminary muster fixed for the 3rd August, the day, as it turned out, of the Queen's funeral.[7] All

[1] Gilbert, 244.

[2] Foed. IV. 72. Edmund died of a chill from a wetting; his death was reported to Richard 9 December, 1381; Devon, Issues, 218.

[3] Gilbert, 244–247.

[4] Graves, sup. xvii.

[5] Id., and Gilbert, sup.

[6] Foed. VII. 722; Devon, Issues, 247; and the original documents printed by Gilbert, 552–557, where the date is wrongly rendered 1393.

[7] Foed. 782.

persons connected with Ireland then in England were ordered to return to Ireland, to support the King in the Council Chamber and the field.[1] Simultaneously arrangements were made, at last, for sending out John of Gaunt to Bordeaux, to take possession of the Duchy, conferred on him four years before.[2]

Leaving Westminster in the latter half of August, and journeying by way of Oxford, Witney, Gloucester, Hereford and Kidwelly, Richard was at Haverfordwest on the 29th September, when he appointed the Duke of York Regent to act in his absence. About the 1st October he sailed from Milford Haven, and on the 2nd of the month landed at Waterford. Gloucester accompanied him, also the Earls of March, Nottingham and Rutland.[3]

Of Richard's force no estimate worth anything is forthcoming; but it was large enough to be very costly, while his numbers were swelled by the arrival of Ormonde with the military contingents of the loyal Irish. Richard made no attempt to extend his influence southwards from Waterford, turning his steps northwards towards Dublin, thus leaving MacMurragh free to attack and plunder the town of New Ross. When John landed at Waterford in 1185 with 300 men-at-arms he was received with general offers of submission.[4] According to the native authorities Richard with his imposing force had more or less to fight his way through the heart of his own Leinster; at any rate he failed to effect any conquests. Ormonde with all his experience of Irish warfare failed to make good an attack upon Offaly, 'the territory of O'Connor'; while Nottingham the Earl Marshal suffered a like reverse in an expedition against Ely, 'the land of O'Carrol'.[5] On the other hand

[1] Walsingham, II. 215; Eulog. III. 370; Ann. Ric. 171.

[2] Foed. VII. 659, 789; Froissart, III. 195. The delay was clearly due to the opposition of the Gascons.

[3] Foed. 785–790; Walsingham, sup.; Ann. Ric.

[4] See Angevin Empire, 227, 228.

[5] Four Masters, IV. 729–737. Offaly is in the north of King's County, and Ely in the extreme south of it; Gilbert, 267. See also Proceedings of the Privy Council, I. 52.

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a report to friends at home, sent by one with the expedition, tells us that the Earls of Rutland and March had burned nine villages, captured 400 head of cattle, and nearly captured MacMurragh's Seal; while "the Earl C." (Constable, Gloucester?) had killed 100 of the enemy and taken 6,000 beasts.[1] Early in November Richard went into winter quarters in Dublin, the army camping outside.[2]

Unable to reduce the Irish by force of arms Richard had recourse to other means. Negotiations were opened through the Earl of Ormonde.[3] MacMurragh was pacified by the restitution of his wife's inheritance. He had married an English heiress; but her lands had been confiscated by the Government, because she had married one of the King's enemies. MacMurragh was also induced to accept of other and better lands in exchange for lands under his control in Carlow, where the circuits of the King's officers were exposed to interference in the administration of the law. The pension of 80 marks also would be continued. On these terms MacMurragh and his under-chiefs met the Earl of Nottingham on the 16th February 1395, "in the open field of Balingory near Carlow," and did homage through him to Richard as "Ardrigh", or over-king of Ireland.[4] Richard also went in person to Drogheda, and received there the homage of Niel O'Neill and other Northern chiefs. Ready submission, they could see, was the easiest way of getting rid of the unwelcome intruder. Brian O'Brien also was induced in Celtic phrase to 'enter Richard's house'. He had a special object in view, namely to obtain support against a rival King of Munster, who was backed up by the Earl of Desmond.[5]

Richard apparently endeavoured to dazzle and overawe the Irish with the splendour of his housekeeping, the variety and quaintness of the dishes served at table, "the sitting of his servants, and the attendance of his ministers, and their apparel." There were said to be three hundred cooks in the kitchen, while the "*bouches de Court*" num-

[1] All Souls College, Oxford, MS. No. 182, f. 248.
[2] Froissart, III. 197.
[3] Id. 209.
[4] Gilbert, 270.
[5] Id. 271.

bered thousands.[1] Richard also conceived the brilliant idea of supplementing the homage bond, and still further attaching the Four Kings by conferring on them the novel honour of Knighthood. To fit them for the distinction they were induced to come to Dublin, and placed under the charge of one Henry Crystal, to be indoctrinated in the ways of civilized society. Crystal was an esquire who had lived for years in Ireland, and was married to an Irish lady. By him the Kings were enlightened as to proper behaviour at the dinner-table, and the garments they ought to wear; they were also persuaded to exchange frieze for silk and fur. After a month of probation MacMurragh, O'Neill, O'Connor, and O'Brien were admitted to hold their due vigils in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, and next day, being Lady-day (25th March), after Mass they were dubbed in the church by the King. In the evening they were entertained at his own table at a state banquet.[2]

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In a communication to the Regent intended for the ears of a Parliament to be held in England in his absence Richard gives his view of the situation in Ireland. The Irish, says he, may be divided into three classes; the 'savage Irish', the 'rebel Irish', and the 'obedient English'. The 'rebels', he thought, might have some substantial grievances to complain of. To meet their case he had summoned a Parliament to meet at Dublin on the 19th April. Till then he had extended a special protection to them; but beyond that he would not go without the sanction of the home Parliament.[3]

This last assembly had met at Westminster on the 27th January.[4] As the Parliament was summoned solely for the purpose of supply, Gloucester was sent home to use his influence with the lieges, and with the best result. The

Parliament.

[1] Gilbert, 267, citing the report of one Robert Ireleffe, 'clerk of the Green Cloth'; but, *more suo*, without further reference.

[2] See Crystal's account as given to Froissart, III. 210–212; Gilbert, 272.

[3] 1 February; Proceedings of the Privy Council, I. 55. The rebel Irish and the obedient English probably corresponded to the English born in Ireland and the English born in England of the Kilkenny Statutes. If so, the 'rebels' no doubt had grounds for being dissatisfied

[4] Lords' Report.

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Commons expressed a grateful sense of the King's "corage" in undertaking such 'labours' for the 'conquest' of the rebel Irish, and in return voted a whole Subsidy, to be raised half at Whitsuntide and half at Martinmas.[1]

The Commons had had their wish; they had goaded the King into a voyage. But the fruitless campaign had involved the Treasury in the heaviest expenditure of any half-year of the reign, the payments between the 28th October 1394 and the 3rd April 1395 having exceeded the sum of £120,000; more by £21,000 than was spent in any other term.[2]

In the course of May Richard returned to England, after an absence of more than seven months, leaving the government of Ireland in the hands of his cousin, Roger Mortimer III, Earl of March, the recognized Heir Presumptive to the Crown, and the largest landowner in Ireland.[3]

The Lollards.

It was said that while the King was in Ireland the bishops had pressed him for further measures against the Lollards, a petition to that effect having been addressed to Courtenay by the Canterbury clergy in Convocation.[4] The clergy had probably been irritated by the bold front shown by the reforming party in the last Parliament, the Parliament held in the King's absence. A petition embodying twelve 'Conclusions' as bold as any yet propounded had been presented; failing to obtain an entry on the Parliament Rolls the document was affixed to the doors both of St. Paul's and of Westminster Abbey. The Articles, which may be attributed to the pen of John Purvey,[5] condemn the whole Roman priesthood[6] as inconsistent with the simplicity of

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 330. The clergy of both Provinces met in February, and voted Tenths; Wake, 323; Wilkins, Conc. III. 223, 224.

[2] See Table of Revenue below.

[3] Four Masters, IV. 739; Knighton, Cont. 2742; Gilbert, 273, 274. Richard was at Westminster by the 28th May.

[4] Walsingham, II. 215; Ann. Ric. 182; Wake, and Wilkins, sup.

[5] See Forshull and Madden, Wycliffite Bible, I. xxvi. Purvey's tract, De Regimine Ecclesiae, is referred to in the Articles.

[6] "Nostrum usuale sacerdotium quod incepit a Roma." This word "usuale" suggests the existence of a reformed ministry.

Christ's apostolic institutions: the pretension of bishops affecting to dispense the Holy Spirit by the laying on of their hands is called 'a painful spectacle' for men of sense:[1] the celibacy of the clergy is shown to be demoralizing and degrading in its practical working: Transubstantiation is scouted as 'an imaginary miracle'[2]: adoration of the Host is mere 'idolatry': the practice of blessing inanimate things, such as water, wax, incense, vestments, and the like is pronounced to savour more of 'necromancy' than of Holy Writ:[3] the employment of priests in secular offices is strongly condemned: like exception is taken to Masses for the dead, pilgrimages, worship of 'Roods' (crucifixes) and relics, auricular confession, and, lastly, the shedding of Christian blood in Crusades and wars of aggression. It was no small triumph for the reformers that men of position could be found to support such tenets on the floor of the House of Commons. Among the men named in this connexion we find Richard Stury, Thomas Latimer, Louis Clifford and John Montagu.[4] CHAP. XXI 1395

Pressed by the Lollards on one side, the Government was bombarded by the Pope on the other side. Boniface denounced recent anti-papal legislation as the mere work of the Evil One,[5] and demanded the entire abrogation of all Statutes of Provisors or *Praemunire*. Richard yielded to neither attack. He vowed to treat all Lollards as traitors, and exacted an oath of abjuration from Stury.[6] Orders were issued for expelling Robert Lechlade and all other Lollards from Oxford, while the Chancellor was directed to examine and report upon Wycliffe's *Trialogus*, to which the Conclusions had referred as an authority.[7] To pacify the Pope a special envoy was sent to Rome.[8] The Papacy.

[1] "Dolorosum interludium hominibus sapientibus videre episcopos ludere cum Spiritu Sancto in collatione suorum ordinum."

[2] "Fictum miraculum."

[3] "Sacrae Scripturae," Ann. Ric; "Sacrae theologie," Fasc.

[4] See Ann. Ric. 174–182, the best text; also Fasc. Ziz. 360–369.

[5] "Al'instigacion du malveys espirit;" Proceedings of the Privy Council, I. 54.

[6] Ann. Ric. 183; Walsingham, II. 217.

[7] Foed. VII. 80. See also Wilkins, Conc. III. 225, for an oath of abjuration exacted from five Nottingham Lollards.

[8] Devon, Issues, 257.

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But at the same time a proclamation was issued forbidding all interference with a pending election to the See of Exeter, which was vacant. Of course the only person from whom interference could be feared was the Supreme Pontiff, and the proclamation, as if to remove all possibility of doubt as to the person aimed at, ends by enjoining strict observance of the objectionable Statutes.[1] Other cases that happened about this time show the complete leading-strings in which the Papacy was kept. Cardinals on whom preferment had been conferred by the Pope are forced to resign the same; the King then appoints, and the Pope is allowed to 'provide' the man named by the King; finally, to keep up the farce, the King's nominee gets a pardon for having accepted preferment at the hands of the Pope, "against the form of the Statute in that case made and provided."[2] Since the Schism the Papacy had come down to being content with the merest show of allegiance, and to obtain that would stoop to anything.

Short as was the time that had elapsed since the death of the good Queen Anne speculation as to a possible successor was already rife. Various alliances were open to Richard. It was said that Gloucester was prepared to offer the hand of a daughter[3]—of all matches in the world—an Arragonese Princess was also mentioned.[4] But the alliance on which Richard's mind was bent was one with France; and the lady to whom he looked was the eldest daughter of Charles VI, Madame Isabelle, a child six years old, but who, young as she was, had already been betrothed to the eldest son of the Duke of Alençon.[5] For a man in Richard's circumstances, as a childless King, surrounded by ambitious uncles with grown-up sons, it was of the utmost importance both for the safety of his own position, and the peace and welfare of the realm that

King to marry again.

[1] 8 February 1395; Foed. VII. 792.

[2] Foed. 798, 799; also 800, an order to execute Papal decrees which had received the King's licence.

[3] So Froissart, III. 203.

[4] Usk, 9.

[5] Isabelle was born 3 November 1389, and betrothed to young Alençon in 1391; Wallon, II. 440, citing Anselme, Hist. Geneal. I. 114.

he should have an heir of his own body begotten to clear away all question as to the succession.[1] But Richard in his thirst for autocracy and vengeance was prepared to leave the hope of an heir to the chances of the future.

A wish to get rid of the war was certainly one motive, and a very praiseworthy motive in itself. If we were to judge by the tenor of the first instructions delivered to the English plenipotentiaries we might think that next to peace money was the King's object. The instructions begin and end with money demands; two million gold 'francs' to begin with (£333,333 6*s.* 8*d.*); then a million and a half;—one million the least to be accepted.[2] A stipulation in a later document betrays the fact that through the French alliance and the French gold the King hoped to gain the mastery over his domestic enemies. He authorizes his envoys to accept a lower offer from the French Government if the King, his uncles and his brother will agree 'to aid and sustain him with all their power against certain of his subjects'.[3]

In the discussions in Paris between the envoys[4] the question of peace had been treated as involved in that of the marriage. But experience had shown the difficulties attendant on any agreement for a 'final peace'. It was suggested that a long truce on the footing of the *status quo* would keep clear of the thorny questions of 'liege homage' and *dernier ressort*, and give the two countries the blessings of substantial peace, for a period during which existing difficulties might pass away. In answer to this proposal Richard named eight-and-twenty years to run from the end of the current truce, which would expire at Michaelmas 1398, as the term to which he was prepared to agree; the Scots to be at liberty to join in, if they pleased, but the

[1] Froissart, sup. Note the general silence of the English writers on the treaty for the marriage.

[2] Foed. VII. 804; 8 July, Leeds Castle, Kent.

[3] "De lui aider et susteigner ovec tout lour povair encontre aucune de ses subgiz;" Foed. 811, January 1396. See also Adam Usk, p. 9; Froissart, 246, 247, &c. The words in Rymer are given in italics, as if they had been cancelled. But Richard by allowing them to be penned at all had given himself away.

[4] See Chron. Saint-Denys, II. 329; Froissart, III. 214; Devon, Issues, 290.

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French under no circumstances to give them any aid: the dower to be 800,000 francs; 300,000 to be paid at the marriage ("*à l'anel*", 'on the ring'), the rest by annual instalments of 100,000 francs: the dowry or jointure to be 10,000 marks a year and to accrue from the day of Isabelle's marriage. Neither Isabelle nor any of her issue to claim through her any right to the crown of France, the existing rights of Richard and his heirs, however, being reserved. Failing issue of the marriage, Isabelle to be at liberty to return to France with 500,000 francs of her dower,[1] 300,000 francs being left in any case to England. Provision was also made for settling questions of outstanding ransoms; and for the appointment of commissioners to regulate the amount of the *patys* (protection money) to be levied by border garrisons in France 'so that the poor people may live'.[2]

On the 9th March 1396 the final treaty was sealed by the French Dukes, Charles' plenipotentiaries, and two days later was ratified by the French King himself.[3] Richard pressed on the completion of the marriage with an eagerness that betrayed the importance of the underlying issues. On Sunday 12th March the marriage service was performed by the Patriarch of Alexandria in the *Sainte Chapelle*, the necessary dispensation being left to follow. Nottingham as Earl Marshal acted as the King's proxy.[4]

Of the King's uncles Gloucester of course as usual was utterly opposed to any *rapprochement* with France; and he had the support of a considerable "Jingo" following.[5] York never would commit himself, but Lancaster approved: Richard had found it necessary to recall him from Gascony, where the people from the first had protested against his

[1] A bond to that effect was sealed by Richard's uncles on the 1st May; Wallon, II. 442; from Trésor des Chartres. [2] Foed. sup., and 813. See also 832.

[3] Id. 813–820. Richard's ratification was not sealed till the 9th May; Wallon.

[4] Chron. Saint-Denys, II. 412; Froissart, III. 235. The dispensing Bull is dated 27 July, and was granted by Boniface, not by the new Avignon Pope Benedict XIII, elected 28 September 1394.

[5] See Froissart, 203, 210–218. He came to England in July 1395 for the third time, and presented copies of his works to Richard. He also had an interview with Gloucester at Pleshy.

rule. Whether their hostility was due to disagreeable memories of the *fouages* and other incidents of the days of the Prince of Wales, or merely to personal hostility to John of Gaunt we cannot say, but as a matter of fact they simply would not have him. When he came out they refused to recognize his authority, and sent a deputation representing all classes of the community to demand his recall. About Christmas he had returned to England.[1] Richard, however, had not revoked the grant of the Duchy; and he had been able to gratify his uncle by sanctioning his marriage with Katherine Swynford, whom John, after nearly five-and-twenty years of cohabitation,[2] proposed to make his lawful wife. In the course of January, after the Christmas feasts, he rode from Langley to Lincoln and there was married to Katherine.[3] Moreover the King undertook to recognize the new Duchess at Court, and to legitimate her children, namely three sons John, Henry and Thomas, and a daughter Joan. They had been given the surname of Beaufort from a property in Champagne, which had come down to John of Gaunt from Blanche of Artois, the second wife of Edmund Crouchback, the first Earl of Lancaster.[4]

Katherine Swynford.

Richard naturally was anxious to have the custody of his bride. On the 15th June William Scrope was commissioned to press for the early delivery of Isabelle, her jewels and her dower, and to suggest a Royal visit to Calais in August, if the French Dukes could find it convenient to be in the neighbourhood about that time.[5] On the 6th or 7th of August Richard went over with Lancaster and Gloucester, and entertained the Duke of Burgundy for three days

[1] Froissart, III. 213, 218; Knighton, 2742. For the Duke in Gascony see Armitage Smith, 363–388. The English frontier appears to have extended to Bergerac, so that their rule was not confined to Bordeaux, Bayonne, and the sea-coast, as sometimes alleged.

[2] The intercourse apparently began between 1371 and 1372; Armitage Smith, 462.

[3] Ann. Ric. 182.

[4] See Armitage Smith, 196, where it is shown that the Beaufort in question is in the department of the Aube, and now known as Montmorency. The Beauforts were formally legitimated by Boniface, 1 September 1396 (Papal Letters, IV. 545), but the wits of Richard's court turned "Beaufort" into "Fairborn", "with a jesting allusion to their birth;" Armitage Smith, 391, 465.

[5] Foed. VII. 834.

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(14–16 August), returning to England on the 22nd or 23rd of the month. At the state banquet at Calais the place of honour next to the Duke of Burgundy, on the King's left hand, was filled by Katherine the new Duchess of Lancaster and Guienne.[1]

Preliminaries having now been adjusted, arrangements were made for a state crossing to receive the bride. On the 27th September York was again named Regent, and at 8 o'clock in the evening on the same day the Great Seal was placed in the hands of John of Scarle, Master of the Rolls, Archbishop Arundel, the Chancellor, going with the King, who doubtless embarked immediately afterwards.[2] Gloucester brought his Duchess (Eleanor Bohun) and their son Humphrey; while Lancaster likewise had his Katherine and their eldest son John Beaufort. A whole month was spent in settling mutual guarantees against foul play,[3] and ceremonial that would give equal honour to either King. All being settled, on the 26th October Richard, accompanied by the Dukes of Berri and Orleans, rode from Calais to an encampment prepared at Guisnes; Charles under escort of Lancaster and Gloucester moving simultaneously from Saint-Omer to similar quarters at Ardres. In front of each encampment was pitched a great Pavilion or Council Tent, the French one being of square shape and the English one round. Next day a line of 400 men of rank (*generosi*) was drawn up on either side of the space between the two Pavilions. The French lined one side; the English the other side. The Eight Hundred were allowed to wear the indispensable sword or dagger of social rank,[4] but no armour; and no weapons except those worn by the Eight Hundred were allowed on the ground, nor any persons not specially invited. At 3 o'clock p.m. the two Kings stepped out of their tents, Richard wearing a scarlet robe (*gouna*)

A Royal interview.

[1] Wardrobe Accounts; Chron. Saint-Denys, II. 444; Froissart, III. 248. The places on the King's right would be occupied by prelates.

[2] Foed. VII. 839–841; Foss. Richard was at Calais on the 28th; Wardrobe Accounts.

[3] See the oath taken by the Kings; Ann. Ric. 190.

[4] "Ense vel cultello accingi honestatis causa;" Saint-Denys; the documents in De Brienne, XXXVI. 35, 37, cited Wallon; Ann. Ric. 189.

down to his heels, with a coronet (*sertum*) set with precious stones, the gift of the French King, and his personal badge of the White Hart on his breast. Charles wore a like robe, but only to his knees, with a "bend" sable engrailed argent, apparently in memory of Queen Anne; he had red and white hose (*calceos*) and bore Richard's White Hart on his breast, with his own cognizance round his neck. The long pointed end of his hood (*cornette*) was wrapped round his head to form a cap (*sertum*, *chapeau*) and was studded with jewels.[1] The English attendants also wore a white "bend" in memory of Queen Anne; Huntingdon carried a sword of state before Richard, and the Count of Harcourt the like in front of Charles. He was supported by Lancaster, Gloucester, Derby, Rutland, Nottingham and Northumberland, while Richard was attended by Berri, Burgundy, Orleans, Bourbon, the Count of Sancerre and the Viscount of Melun. Advancing by equal and simultaneous steps the two Kings met at a central post, set exactly halfway between the two Council Tents. All knelt as the Royal pair doffed their hoods, shook hands and kissed.[2] Wine and sweetmeats were then offered by the attendant Dukes,[3] and costly presents exchanged. Charles then took Richard to his marquee, and afterwards accompanied him on a return visit to his. At each point more wine and sweetmeats were taken,[4] and more presents exchanged. Finally the two Kings kissed once more and took leave at the halfway point.[5]

Jealous Ceremonial.

On the 28th October another meeting took place with the same formalities at the central post. Richard followed his father-in-law to the French Pavilion, and there at last business was taken in hand. Four hours the conference lasted. As the result we are told that the truce was ratified, and a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance sealed.[6]

[1] Saint-Denys; Ann. Ric. [2] Id. Froissart, III. 257, 258.

[3] "Pocula cum speciebus;" Saint-Denys. "Comederunt species et biberunt vinum;" Ann. Ric.

[4] "Reprirent les drageoirs et les épices et les coupes et le vin;" Froissart.

[5] "Ad pallum redeuntes cum osculo pacis mutuo vale dixerunt;" Saint-Denys.

[6] Saint-Denys, 460; Ann. Ric.; and Wallon, II. 444, where the text of the treaty sealed by Richard is given.

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Sunday 29th October was given to rest; but on the morrow the little Queen was brought to the central spot, the Dukes of Berri and Burgundy carrying her in their arms, and then and there formally delivered to her lord. Richard thanked Charles for the precious gift, and then delivered his bride to the care of the two Duchesses of Lancaster and Gloucester and the Countesses of Huntingdon and Stafford. She was taken to Calais with a train of ladies, twelve chariots full. A banquet in Richard's Pavilion closed the day, the Kings being served at separate tables, and each after the manner of his own country. After dinner they mounted their horses, rode to the meeting point, and there took final leave. After that Richard made off to Calais, while Charles took the road to Paris.[1]

Richard had been married by proxy, but not *in propria persona*. As an indispensable preliminary to the latter ceremony the Archbishop of York 'executed' the Bull which sanctioned the marriage, and gave Richard absolution for having contracted it without previous leave (3rd November). Next day Arundel gave the nuptial benediction to the Royal pair in the church of St. Nicholas, and Richard sealed a receipt for the 300,000 francs (£50,000).[2]

The Papal Schism.

Among the subjects discussed with the French Dukes during Richard's stay in Calais was that of the schism in the Papacy, and the steps to be taken for bringing it to a close. The French saw in the English alliance a means of escaping from their position in the matter, of which they were growing tired. On the 16th September 1394 Clement VII died. Charles VI at once wrote to the Cardinals at Avignon forbidding them to hold a conclave. Suspecting the purport of the letter they refrained from opening it till they had elected a Pope. The man of their choice was the Cardinal Pedro de Luna, an Arragonese of good family, of blameless character, but crafty, able,

[1] See Chron. Saint-Denys, II. 450–470; Ann. Ric. II. 188–194; Froissart, III. 257, 258, three contemporary accounts agreeing in all material particulars. Cf. J. J. des Ursins, 394, &c.

[2] Foed. VII. 845, 846; Chron. Saint-Denys, II. 470; Eulog. III. 371.

unscrupulous and ambitious. Elected on the 28th September 1394 and crowned on the 11th October following, he took the style of Benedict XIII.[1] The French had found that their adherence to the Avignon Pope cut them off from all Europe except Scotland and Castile. For the sake of a Frenchman they might have endured this, but not for a Spaniard or an Arragonese. The solution that they proposed was that both Pontiffs should resign; a compromise that would cover their own retirement from an untenable position.[2] The University of Paris had been very active in the matter, and it was at their instigation that Charles in his lucid intervals had been induced to take the matter up. Early in 1396 deputations were sent by the University of Paris to every country in Europe, to advocate their plan. In England the question was referred to Oxford. On the 8th March the University drew up a paper giving elaborate reasons for rejecting the French proposals, and advocating the meeting of a General Council.[3]

About the 20th of November the Court returned to England; on the 23rd the young Queen was taken through Southwark to Kennington, without entering the City,[4] so as to leave her first entry for the coronation day.

The marriage service at Calais had been performed by the Archbishop of York, as we have seen. In fact the See of Canterbury was vacant. On the 31st July William Courtenay had closed an episcopate of more than ordinary popularity and distinction.[5] Reformers may regret that he felt bound to oppose John Wycliffe; but none can deny the moderation of his measures. The zealots of the time reserved their approbation for the thoroughgoing Bishop of Norwich, Henry le Despenser, who had sworn to silence

The Primacy.

[1] Chron. Saint-Denys, II. 89, 99; Milman, VI. 38; Creighton, Papacy, I. 130.

[2] Chron. Saint-Denys, II. 47, 57.

[3] Chron. Saint-Denys, 443; Des Ursins, 393; Knighton, Cont. 2742.

[4] Mon. Evesh. 129.

[5] Bp. Stubbs; Reg. Sacr. and the Canterbury MS. cited Hook, IV. 394. Courtenay was buried at Canterbury on the 3rd August in the presence of Richard, then on his way to Calais; Ib. and W. Thorn, Decem Scriptt. 2198. For Courtenay's benefactions to Maidstone College, Canterbury Hall, Oxford, &c., see Hook, sup.

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with axe or faggot the first Lollard preacher who should venture to open his mouth in his diocese.[1]

Thomas of Arundel was at once named to the vacant Primacy, the first instance of a translation from the Northern to the Southern Province. On the 23rd November he resigned the Great Seal, which on the same day was delivered to Edmund Stafford, Bishop of Exeter, previously Keeper of the Privy Seal.[2] Richard had every reason to be grateful to Arundel for his management of affairs since 1391. His administration had not been spotless;[3] but its failings had not been either a want of regard for the Royal wishes, or an undue regard for the subjects' rights. Richard had been allowed to have his own way as far as was at all compatible with constitutional government, as in the matter of the Calais Staple; in the matter of Provisions and episcopal appointments;[4] and above all in his shocking treatment of the City of London; his prerogative had received special recognition from Parliament; the supplies granted had been fairly liberal; and in some cases where conditions had been imposed they were ultimately waived, and the taxes allowed to be raised regardless of the conditions under which they were given. The country had been prosperous and contented, because the King had condescended, in the main, to respect constitutional usages. But he was tenacious and unforgiving, and possessed with an insatiable craving for absolute power; his vanity demanded not merely the substantial exercise, but the ostentatious parade of power. Arundel could not pander to this appetite, neither could Richard forget that he had been the Chancellor and right-hand man of the Appellants. For the King's schemes it was necessary to get the Great Seal out of his hands. As an excuse for turning him out of office, the first step towards his ultimate destruction, he was promoted to Canterbury.

[1] Walsingham, II. 188, 189.

[2] Foed. VII. 840; Foss; Hook, IV. 432: on the 11th January 1397 the Bull of translation was published. Robert Waldby, who had been translated from Dublin to Chichester in 1396, was now advanced to York; Reg. Sacr.

[3] So even M. Wallon, Richard's apologist, admits. [4] See e.g. Ann. Ric. 186.

CHAPTER XXII

Richard II (*continued*)

A. D. 1397

Coronation of Isabelle of France.—Parliament.—Remonstrance of Commons.—The Royal Household.—Haxey's Case.—Brest restored to Brittany.—Arrest of Gloucester, Warwick, and Arundel.

1397

Coronation of the Queen.

The first business taken in hand with the New Year 1397 was naturally the coronation of the little Queen. On the 5th of January, apparently, she made her first entry to London, being taken over London Bridge, and thence along Bridge Street to the Tower. The throng of sightseers was such that with the insufficient police regulations of the time the Prior of Tiptree and eight other persons were crushed to death.[1] The state ride to Westminster followed on the morrow; and on Sunday 7th January Isabelle was duly hallowed in the Abbey, Archbishop Arundel officiating.[2]

Parliament.

A fortnight later Parliament met (22nd January); and another act in the sad drama of Richard's reign began. The Chancellor, Bishop Stafford, opened the session with a sermon filled with the usual constitutional commonplaces. Two days later he imparted to the Commons the secret of the session. The King had promised his father-in-law to support him in an expedition to Lombardy;[3] and he was

[1] Chron. Lond. (H. Nicolas).

[2] Foed. VII. 808. The Evesham writer gives the days as the 3rd, 4th, and 5th January; but as the coronation was certainly on the 7th January, they must be read as 5th, 6th, and 7th January.

[3] See Froissart, III. 259, 379; Sismondi, France, XII. 81, &c. This affair was a mere court intrigue, an attack on Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, planned by the Duke of Burgundy, chiefly as a blow to the King's brother the Duke of Orleans, who was married to Visconti's daughter Valentine. But the scheme

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anxious to fulfil his promise without delay. The Commons were staggered by this the first outcome of the French alliance, and asked to be allowed to defer their answer till all the absent peers had been sent for.[1] Richard, finding that a strong opposition was being developed, sent the Archbishop of Canterbury next day to inquire who had stirred the Commons to resist the King's purpose. The Commons, entering the House of Lords, protested that no man had ever suggested to them, nor had it entered into their heads, to oppose the fulfilment of the King's 'honourable promise'; but that as he had 'granted' the 'voyage' of his own sole authority, they must be excused from undertaking any liability in connexion therewith.[2] Richard took up the defence of his policy with his own mouth;[3] explaining that in his view the French alliance was a matter of paramount importance for the realm; but that the alliance would never become a reality till the two nations had been united in joint action for some laudable purpose. Finally, losing his self-control, he intimated that he intended to be 'free and at liberty to order his people to go to the support of his friends, and for that purpose to dispose of his own goods, as and when he pleased'[4] (25th January).

Eight days later Richard had again to enter into personal discussion with his lieges. On the 2nd February he sent for the Peers after dinner, and said that he had been given to understand that on the previous day the Commons had laid before them certain matters which appeared to him

had already been knocked on the head by the defeat of the Hungarians and their French allies at Nicopolis, 28 September 1396, the news of which reached Paris about Christmas.

[1] Gloucester had been named a Trier of Petitions, but it does not follow that he was there at the opening; some of the chroniclers imply that he was absent.

[2] "Que de celle viage &c. ils ne serroient mys parties, n'ent endamagez, mais outrement excusez."

[3] "Par son bouche propre en plein Parlement."

[4] "Q'il voet estre a large et liberte de commander ses Gentz pur eux envoier en aide de ses Amys, et pur disposer de ses Biens propres a sa voluntee ou et tant des foitz que luy plerra;" Rot. Parlt. III. 337, 338.

to infringe on his prerogative.[1] At his command the Chancellor gave an account of four Articles of Petition which had been brought forward. The first complained that the sheriffs and escheators were not men of substance as required by law; and that they were allowed to remain in office after the expiration of the legal year. The second Article complained of the unprotected state of the Scottish March. The third complained of the continued distribution of badges and 'liveries', in violation of the statute of the 16th year; and generally of organized resistance to the execution of the law. The fourth Article complained of the 'great and excessive charges' for the King's Household, and of the 'multitude' of bishops and ladies maintained there; and suggested that the bishops should be sent home to look after their dioceses.

Commons remonstrate.

Of these charges only the second can be pronounced unfounded. The Border garrisons were not starved by the Government. The sums allowed seem sufficient. For Berwick and the Eastern March the Percies at this time were apparently drawing £3,400 a year; the Earl of Huntingdon received £664 for Carlisle and the Western March; while John Stanley had £400 as Constable of Roxburgh.[2] As for the first head of complaint it was no doubt an old one, but not a very serious one, all things considered. But the third and the fourth Articles opened up the two rankling grievances of the time. Richard's household was not disorderly; his own tastes were refined, and his personal conduct unimpeachable.[3] But his household expenditure was extravagant beyond precedent—far beyond that even of the magnificent Edward III in his "golden prime". In the 44th year of his reign (1369–1370) Edward III drew for his Privy Purse (Chamber) and Household £25,000 out of a total national expenditure of £149,000. In his 21st year (1397–1398) Richard II spent

[1] "Encontre sa Regalie & Estat & sa Roiale Libertee."

[2] These were the sums paid in the financial year 1397–1398; Issue Rolls, Mich. and Easter, 21 Rich. II. See also below, Financial Summary.

[3] The silence of his enemies on this point is in itself conclusive in his favour.

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under the same heads £40,000 out of a total of £137,900.[1] Well might Will Langland ask

> "Where was evere any cristen kynge,
> that ȝe evere knewe
> that helde swiche an household
> be the half-delle
> as Richard in this rewme?"[2]

But the mere amount of this expenditure did not exhaust the constitutional grievance. The extravagant Household was doubtless part and parcel of the system attacked under the third head. Richard had conceived the idea of ruling England by the help of a vast personal following; an army of 'livery-men';[3] paid out of the public purse; distinguished from all fellow subjects by the wearing of the King's WHITE HART; and so, indulged in every licence, and assured beforehand of judicial support in every suit and struggle. The expenditure for Pensions and Gifts in the year above named amounts to £23,000. £7,000 was the amount in the 44th year of Edward III, a man open-handed enough in all conscience. Allowing this amount as legitimate expenditure, we shall not err greatly if we assume that the excess in Richard's spending was simply £16,000 spent for the purposes of political corruption.[4]

"White Hart" Conspiracy.

Richard defended himself with great ingenuity. He passed over the delicate question of the badges in silence, affecting to accede to the Commons' wishes by agreeing to re-enact a statute which he knew well would not touch his own proceedings. As for the first charge he argued that a sheriff could not learn the duties of his office properly in a twelvemonth; and that no man would face the unpopularity of enforcing the King's rights if he was to be turned out of office at the end of so short a term. This was doubtless the very reason why the Commons wished the term of office to be curtailed. As for the defence of the

[1] So the Issue Rolls for these respective years; cf. also J. Hardyng, 346.

[2] Pol. Poems, I. 411.

[3] "Liverers;" Langland.

[4] Issue Rolls as above. See also Langland's poem, Pol. Poems, I. 368, and below. On the Issue Roll for Michaelmas, 21 Rich. II, we have a payment for eight "cervi argenti de liberata Regis", given out on one day, m. 17.

March, the King said that he would be glad to do anything that the Lords might suggest, if only the means were provided. On the fourth point Richard spoke with great warmth, declaring himself 'greatly aggrieved and offended'. He directed the Duke of Lancaster to charge the Speaker John Bushey to give up the name of the man who had suggested the offensive remonstrance.[1]

Haxey's case.

Next day the Commons came before the Lords and produced the 'bill' with the name of 'Sir Thomas Haxey, clerk'. Haxey was apparently a proctor for the clergy attending Parliament under the *praemunientes* clause. In 1388 he had been Keeper of the Rolls in the Court of Common Pleas: in the autumn of 1396 he had been named 'attorney general' for the Earl of Nottingham; he was an old pluralist and official, who knew exactly where to lay his finger on the weak points of the administration.[2]

Later in the day the Commons were brought bodily before the King in Parliament, when they stooped to make an abject, not to say ignoble, apology; begging for pardon for their presumption; the cognizance of such matters as the number of lords and ladies at Court they knew appertained not to them, but to the King himself.[3]

Richard accepted their excuses, and, by way of intimating his abandonment of the Italian campaign, informed them that he would not ask for any subsidy.[4] Haxey's case was remitted to the Lords, who declared that it amounted to high treason; he was condemned to die the death of a traitor, but the prelates claimed him as a clergyman; and he was delivered into their hands (5th–7th February). Three months later he received a free pardon from the King.[5]

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 339.

[2] Issue Roll, Mich. 12 Rich. II; Foed. VII. 844; Bp. Stubbs, II. 516, citing Raine, Fabric Rolls of York, 203–206, for details of the preferment held by Haxey: his 'bill' is given Rot. Parlt. 407: a reference to an impost recently levied by the Pope implies that his action was partly prompted by clerical discontent.

[3] Rot. Parlt. sup.

[4] Rot. Parlt. 339. The clergy, however, in both Convocations gave half Tenths in February; Wake, 324; Receipt Rolls.

[5] 25 May; Id. 341, 408. At the accession of Henry IV the sentence was annulled, and Haxey restored to all his rights; Rot. Parlt. 430.

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The session closed with outward appearances of general harmony and goodwill. The Commons renewed Tunnage and Poundage and the wool duties, which in fact had expired on St. Andrew's Day. Tunnage and Poundage were granted for three years, and the wool duties for five years, both at existing rates.[1] The Commons also gave the King leave to 'suspend or modify'[2] the Statute of Provisors as he might be advised, any such suspension or modification, however, to be laid before the next Parliament; they also gave him final leave[3] to recall the banished judges Bealknap, Holt and de Burgh. The King in return agreed once more to confirm the Statute of Northampton against carrying arms;[4] to confirm the statute of the 16th year against party badges and liveries, as already stated; with a further provision forbidding county magnates to sit on the bench beside the Justices at the Assizes. He also gave his assent to a measure forbidding a lingering form of 'Purveyance', namely the impressment of post-horses by King's messengers.[5] Lastly the King found opportunities for dealing a blow at one man whom he was determined to crush, and for exalting two others whom he delighted to honour. The Earl of Warwick was found to have encroached on lands belonging to the See of Llandaff during a recent vacancy, when the issues would go to the Crown; he was condemned to be fined at the King's pleasure for his 'contempt'.[6] Nottingham the Earl Marshal, now the King's right-hand man, was authorized to carry a gold

[1] Rot. Parlt., III. 340.

[2] "Faire tiele soeffrance, ordenance & moderation touchant le dit Estatut," &c.; Rot. Parlt. 340.

[3] Leave had been given by a previous Parliament, but Richard apparently had been afraid to act upon it.

[4] 2 Edw. III. c. 3.

[5] Rot. Parlt. 340–346; Statutes, 20 Rich. II. The statute against badges only forbade their being given to persons *not* resident in the household. But that was just what the King was doing on the largest scale.

[6] A little later in the year lands in Gower in Wales, in dispute between Warwick and Nottingham, were adjudged to the latter; Ann. Ric. 201. Bishop Stubbs calls attention to the coincidence that the dispute between Nottingham's ancestor John Mowbray and the Despensers with regard to the same lands was one of the troubles that led to the fall of Edward II.

stick of office, a new distinction, during his life; and Lancaster had his four children by Katherine Swynford declared legitimate, the eldest, John Beaufort, being created Earl of Somerset.[1] The King's patent of the 9th February declaring the Beauforts legitimate made no reservation of the succession to the Crown. In 1407, the point having been raised, Henry IV ordered the words *excepta dignitate regali* to be interpolated.[2]

Of this Parliament Richard assuredly had no right to complain; but the complaisance of the Commons only hastened his fall by encouraging him to give freer rein to his impulses. The charter of legitimization to the Beauforts was issued by Richard as 'Full Emperor of England'.[3] This vainglorious assumption disclosed the fact that the King was lending an ear to interested persons who suggested that he might be chosen emperor "in the place of his drunken brother-in-law Wenzel".[4] He was subsidizing the Rhenish princes: Rupert of Bavaria, the Elector Palatine, was receiving £1,000 a year: his son the younger Rupert had 1,000 marks a year: Archbishop Frederic of Cologne £1,000 a year; and to find this money Richard was extorting loans from all and sundry.[5]

If he really thought of imitating the example of Richard of Cornwall he was certainly picking out the most foolish precedent in English history. Again we must note that at this time he was endeavouring to rehabilitate the memory of Edward II, by procuring his canonization as a Saint, and was actually negotiating with the Papacy on the subject. He had a book of Edward's miracles compiled as evidence to be laid before Boniface.[6]

A concession pressed upon Richard at Calais was the restitution of Brest.[7] The place had been entrusted by the

Restitution of Brest.

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 341, 343. Letters of legitimization had already been granted by Boniface IX, 1 September 1396. [2] See Excerpta Historica, 153.

[3] "Come entier Emperor de son Roialme d'Engleterre;" Rot. Parlt. 343.

[4] Bp. Stubbs. See Ann. Ric. 199.

[5] Foed. VII. 854, 858; VIII. 1, 2, 37; Ann. Ric. sup.; Walsingham, II. 222, 223.

[6] Devon, Issues, 259, 264. The Bishop of Lichfield, Richard Scrope, was sent on this errand. [7] See Lobineau, I. 495; cf. Saint-Denys, II. 466.

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Duke of Brittany to the English, at a time when he was on their side, to be held by them during the war, and during the war only, they being bound to restore the place at the conclusion of a peace or long truce.[1] The Duke and the King of France were now friends, and both demanded the surrender. But for nineteen years and upwards the place had been in the hands of the English, and defended at great cost. The parting with such a stronghold, on the highway to Bordeaux, would doubtless be thought a wanton sacrifice of England's interests. To overcome the King's scruples, however, French gold was again forthcoming, and Richard was offered 120,000 francs (£20,000) for Brest; a pretty good bargain considering that he had only paid £1,000 for it in the first instance. But the profit of the transaction only aggravated the King's offence in the eyes of his subjects. On the 5th March William Scrope the Under-Chamberlain was authorized to receive the money; on the 28th John Drax was instructed to deliver the place as soon as he should be certified of the payment of the money.[2] On the 12th June Brest changed hands.[3] The appearance of the discharged garrison from Brest brought the general discontent in England to a climax. 'Calais will go next' was the word. Gloucester, giving utterance to these feelings, fiercely upbraided his nephew for selling his dominions.[4]

There is no reason to believe that Gloucester had formed any kind of plot against the King, as alleged by Froissart. But his rough uncompromising opposition, and the habitual contempt with which he treated the King for his indolent and unwarlike habits, must have been infuriating to a man of Richard's egregious pretensions. There was in fact but one conspirator in England, and he was the King. He had long been plotting the subversion of his subjects' liberties.

[1] "Les guerres finies ou par treitee ou par longue trewe;" Foed. VII. 190.

[2] Foed. 852; Proceedings of the Privy Council, I. 67.

[3] Wallon, citing Morice, Hist. Bret. I. 425, and II. 678.

[4] Träison et Mort de Richard, 1, 2, 4 (Engl. Hist. Socy., Williams); Saint-Denys, II. 477; Froissart, III. 288.

1397 Richard draws the sword.

The completion of the French alliance left him, as he fondly thought, free to act. When all was ready for the final blow Nottingham 'informed' the King that Gloucester, Arundel and Warwick were hatching a dangerous conspiracy. Acting on this 'information' Richard on the 10th July invited the three to a banquet at Cold Harbour, Huntingdon's mansion near St. Paul's. Only Warwick attended; Gloucester made the excuse of ill-health. Arundel, always ill-mannered, sent no excuse, but retired to his castle at Reigate. After the dinner Warwick was arrested at the Chancellor's house at "Temple Barre" and sent to the Tower; while the Archbishop was induced to undertake to prevail on his brother to give himself up, the King pledging himself in the most solemn manner that he should suffer no bodily harm.[1]

The Primate fairly started on his errand, the King took horse the same night, and rode down to Essex to arrest his uncle Thomas. It is interesting to note who the men were that he took with him, being presumably the men whom he consulted, and to whom he looked for support in the desperate *coup d'État* that he was meditating. These were his half-brother, the notorious John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon; Thomas Holland III, the young Earl of Kent, son of Thomas Holland II, the King's half-brother, who had died on the 25th April; Rutland the King's nephew; Nottingham; young John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset; John Montagu, the new Earl of Salisbury, who had succeeded his uncle William on the 3rd June; Thomas, the young Lord le Despenser, called to the House of Lords the year before, and married to the Lady Constance, daughter of the Duke of York; and, lastly, there was William le Scrope, son of Richard, Lord le Scrope of Bolton. Scrope and Huntingdon were probably the only men older than the King himself, and the majority of them were mere boys.[2]

[1] Ann. Ric. 201, 202; Eulog. III. 371, 372; Träison, 6–8; Rot. Parlt. III. 436; Vox Clamantis, 399; and Proceedings of the Privy Council, I. 93, a letter from Gloucester to the King pleading health.

[2] See Complete Peerage; and Beltz, Garter.

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Pleshy was reached in the course of the night. Gloucester was taken utterly by surprise. He had no armed retinue with him, and was in bed when the King's arrival was announced. He presented himself half-dressed and attended by his chaplains. Richard arrested him with his own hand, and after a few sarcastic words ordered him to be taken to Calais, under the charge of the Earl of Nottingham.[1]

Next day, 12th July, the Earl of Arundel was induced to surrender and was sent to Carisbrook in the Isle of Wight.[2]

To allay the general consternation caused by these acts Richard on the 15th issued a proclamation directing the sheriffs to inform the people that the arrests of Gloucester, Arundel and Warwick had been made with the 'assent' of the eight personages above named; that Lancaster, York and Derby had given their subsequent approval; and that the three had not been arrested on account of 'a former rising, as many believed', but solely on account of recent 'extortions' and misdeeds as would be explained in Parliament. Three days later writs were issued for a session to meet at Westminster on the 17th September.[3] The public mind however was greatly agitated, and popular feeling showed itself in prayers and processions for the safety of the three lords, and the conversion of the King's heart.[4]

[1] See Ann. Ric. 202–206; Mon. Evesh. 130; Träison, 7, 8; Eulog. III. 372.

[2] Ann. Ric. 203; Träison, 7; Rot. Parlt. III. 435.

[3] Ann. Ric. 206; Foed. VIII. 6; Lords' Report. For the dismay in England see Froissart, III. 109.

[4] So Ann. Ric. 207.

CHAPTER XXIII

Richard II (*continued*)

A.D. 1397

Parliament.—Cancelling of the Commission of the 19th November 1386 with all its Acts.—Revocation of Pardons.—Impeachment of Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick.—Gloucester made away with.—Execution of Arundel.—Banishment of Warwick and Archbishop Arundel.

Appellants to be Appealed.

In anticipation of the meeting of Parliament Richard on the 5th August held a Council of his young advisers [1] at Nottingham; and they resolved to follow Gloucester's own precedent by 'appealing' him and his friends in Parliament. To clench the matter a "bill" of attainder was drawn up to which the new Appellants were made to affix their seals without further ado. Richard was not disposed to relieve his friends of their share of responsibility. The charges were absolutely confined to events that happened between 1386 and 1388. Not a suggestion of any later offence was raised.[2] Various preliminary measures were taken. Forced loans to the amount of £20,000 and upwards were exacted from the clergy and the towns.[3] A strong body-guard was raised in Cheshire, and the King's liverymen,[4] the new organization that he was creating to keep the country in thraldom, were summoned to muster at Kingston-on-Thames, for an armed entry into London, before the meeting of Parliament. In addition to this force John of Gaunt was directed to bring 300 men-at-arms and 600

[1] "Rex sibi consilium Juvenile
Legerat consilio juvenum."
Gower, Trip. Chron. Pol. Poems, I. 418.

[2] Ann. Ric. 207; Rot. Parlt. III. 374.

[3] See the list of receipts, Foed. VIII. 9; Eulog. III. 372. The city of London was taxed at 10,000 marks; William of Wykeham at £1,000. The lay nobility were spared. None of their names appear.

[4] "Gerentes liberatam de Cervo"; Foed. 13.

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archers to Westminster; York and Derby to bring minor contingents,[1] all of course to terrorize Parliament, the appearance in arms at all being absolutely illegal. Steps also were taken for eliciting beforehand a confession from Gloucester, to avoid the necessity of bringing him to public trial; a man so generally popular could not safely be produced in Parliament. Accordingly William Rickhill, a Puisne Justice of the Common Pleas, was given a copy of the charges to be brought against the Duke, and commissioned to take down any answers that he might feel disposed to make.[2] Rickhill went over to Calais along with Nottingham, the Captain of Calais, on the 7th September; and was introduced to Gloucester early next morning, when he unfolded his mission. Gloucester accepted the offer; and after twelve hours' private consultation with his 'clerks', delivered to Rickhill a paper, which was carefully read over and authenticated in the presence of trustworthy witnesses. The document admitted "assente to the makyng of a commission in the which I amonges other restreyned my lord of his freedom and toke upon me amonge other Power Reale". Further it was confessed that "I came armed into my lordes presence and into his Palais"; besides committing other acts "ageyns his Regalie and his Estate". For all of these "Thomas of Wodestok" apologized in the most abject terms; 'knowledging' that he had done "evyll and wykkedly"; but still contending that though he had offended his lord "unkyndely and untrewly", it was nevertheless his "menyng and wenyng to have do the best for his persone and for his estate". Finally Thomas put himself "heygh and lowe in his Lorde's mercy"; praying for 'acceptance' "as lowlych as mekelych as any creature kan do or may do to his lyege Loord". At the last moment, Gloucester, as if unable wholly to ignore one damning count of which his answer had taken no notice, added, by

[1] Foed. VIII. 14; Ann. Ric. and Eulog., sup.; Mon. Evesh. 133.

[2] Foed. 73. Gloucester's admissions follow the indictment so closely that I think that he must have had it before him: in one passage the words are identical.

word of mouth, that he also admitted that the King had spoken to him for Sir Simon Burley, and that he had answered and said 'that if he wished to be King it must be done'. Taking leave of the Judge, Gloucester begged him to come again next day in case he should think of something more to say.[1] CHAP. XXIII 1397

The confession was clearly made in the hope of gaining pardon. Perhaps some promise to that effect may have been conveyed through Nottingham. As, however, Gloucester had said as much as would suit the King's purpose, no time was lost in getting rid of him. When Rickhill presented himself next morning he was not allowed to see the Duke. Probably he had already been made away with. Rickhill remained at Calais till the 11th September, and then went back to England satisfied that he could serve no purpose by waiting any longer at Calais. According to the confession of one John Hall, one of Nottingham's "valets" at Calais, who, two years later, after Richard's deposition, suffered for his share in the crime, Gloucester was taken by night by himself and others from the castle to a house in the town known as 'the Prince's Inn', and there after a short shrift thrown down on a bed and smothered to death with a "fetherbed". He named William Serle 'Groom of the Chamber' to the King, and one Franceys 'Groom of the Chamber' to Rutland, as the actual murderers, others assisting, while he himself kept watch at the door.[2]

On the 17th September the Parliament met. It had been carefully packed by the King's orders. Westminster Hall was under repair, and in consequence the session was held in an open wooden booth, specially built for the occasion, "betwixt the clocke tower and the dore of the great Hall." A lofty throne together with the seats for the peers occupied one end of the edifice; the Commons Parliament.

[1] See the document and Rickhill's statements in connexion therewith made on two occasions in Parliament; Rot. Parlt. III. 379, 431, 432.

[2] Rot. Parlt. 453; 17 October, 1399. Hall, like the King, was evidently anxious to implicate as many men as possible.

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faced them at the other end; the King's new Appellants were ranged on one side, and a dock was provided for the Respondents, the old Appellants, on the other side. To meet any possibility either of opposition from within, or of popular intervention from without, the booth was surrounded by the newly-raised bodyguard of Cheshire archers, with bows ready strung.[1] The Chancellor, Bishop Stafford, pointed the way in which affairs were intended to go. His opening 'sermon' is well described by one who heard it[2] as beginning and ending with the Royal prerogative. The text was "*Rex unus erit omnibus*".[3] The coronation oath was represented as intended not for the limitation but for the protection of the prerogative (an old pretence); all encroachments on the prerogative were therefore in themselves null and void; the Estates had been summoned to 'inform' the King if any of his rights had been at any time infringed upon,[4] in order that the defect might be remedied, and that 'one King might rule for all'. The Chancellor concluded with the disquieting intimation that an amnesty for past offences would be granted to all, excepting fifty persons to be named by the King; and excepting persons to be impeached in that Parliament.[5] Proscription was thus openly announced as the order of the day.

Proscription.

As his chief agents in the lower House the King had three Knights, namely John Bushey, Thomas Green, and William Bagot.[6] On the 18th September Bushey was elected Speaker for the second time, and business began at once. Bushey, advancing with the obeisances that Richard loved,[7]

[1] Ann. Ric. 209; Usk, 11 (he was present); Mon. Evesh. 131; Stow, 315; English Chron. 9 (S. Davies, Camden S.).

[2] Adam of Usk, p. 9. "Omni die presentium compilator interfuit."

[3] Ezek. xxxvii. 22.

[4] "Si ascuns Droitz de sa corone soient suistretz ou amenusez."

[5] Rot. Parlt. III. 347.

[6] Ann. Ric. 209; Gower, Pol. Poems, I. 363. See also Proceedings of the Privy Council, I. 76.

[7] "Non humanos honores exhibuit Regi sed divinos, adinveniens verba adulatoria et insueta ... ut extentis brachiis supplicibus manibus eum adoraret," &c.; Ann. Ric. 210.

invited the King's attention to the derogatory Commission of the 19th November 1386, 'passed when the present Archbishop of Canterbury was Chancellor'. The document was produced, read, and repealed by acclamation, as having been extorted by force; all acts dependent on it went with it; the attempt to procure such a commission in the future was declared treasonable; and the repeal was expressly extended to the pardons granted to Gloucester, Arundel and Warwick in 1388; and also to a special pardon granted to Arundel in April 1394.[1] The revocation of the pardons brought up Archbishop Arundel, who had already risen to answer Bushey's insinuations, but had been requested by the King to reserve his remarks for the morrow. His protest was again overborne, and the pardons cancelled. Lastly the prelates and clergy were required to appoint a proctor to represent them in the impending trials for treason, lest the proceedings should be called in question by reason of their absence. The suggestion was groundless; the clergy were bound to be absent; canon law forbade them to take any part in capital cases. No objection therefore could be raised on the ground of their absence. This point of the concurrence of the clergy was the only one on which any serious resistance was offered to the King's wishes. Eventually the clergy had to yield, and Thomas Percy the Under-Chamberlain was chosen proctor.[2] The sitting rose in a state of excitement hardly kept within bounds by the presence of the archers.[3]

On the 19th September Richard addressing the Speaker said that he had been pressed to give the names of the fifty persons to be excluded from the amnesty, but that it would not be convenient to do so, and that he would hold

[1] This pardon apparently had reference to the penalties he had incurred for marrying Philippa Mortimer, widow of John Hastings, without leave; see Beltz, Garter, 305; Devon, Issues, 255.

[2] Percy apparently was not chosen till the 20th September; Usk, 11. On the Rolls his nomination is entered as the first thing done on the 18th, but the chronology of the Rolls is not to be trusted. One bishop refused to the last to sign.

[3] See Rot. Parlt. III. 348, 350; Usk, sup.; Ann. Ric. 209–213; Eulog. III. 373, 374; Mon. Evesh. 132.

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any man who should again venture to mention the subject worthy of death.[1]

The pardons having been revoked, the Respondents could now be attacked. On the 20th Archbishop Arundel received a friendly message from the King through Robert Reade, Bishop of Carlisle, advising him not to appear any more in Parliament. He kept away and in his absence was impeached by Bushey for his concurrence in the Commission of 1386, and the acts and proceedings of the Parliament of 1388. Bushey asked that the Primate might be imprisoned, but the King reserved the point. At the same time he graciously intimated to the Duke of York, William of Wykeham and Richard, Lord le Scrope of Bolton that they might consider themselves absolved from the guilt of having sat upon the Commission.[2]

On the 21st September the eight new Appellants[3] laid their accusation in due form against Gloucester, Arundel, Warwick, and Thomas Mortimer.[4] Only Arundel however was produced. Lancaster, presiding as Lord High Steward, began by ordering the Earl's belt and his scarlet hood to be taken from him. Arundel answered the charges "with more passion than discretion"; and his accusers rejoined in like spirit. 'Traitor!' 'Liar!' were the retorts fiercely interchanged between him, Lancaster and Derby, who, taking his cue from his father, basely joined the chorus against his old colleague. At one time all the eight Appellants were on the floor of the House, gesticulating wildly, and hurling defiance at the head of the Earl.[5] Arundel could only plead, as Gloucester in his 'confession'

[1] Usk. For subsequent dealings with these 'exempted' persons see Proceedings of the Privy Council, I. 75.

[2] Usk, 11, 12; Ann. Ric. 213; Rot. Parlt. III. 351, 353. Scrope received a formal charter of pardon on the 29th November; Foed. VIII. 26.

[3] They appeared in uniform suits. "In una secta rubrarum togarum de cerico (sc. serico) rotulatarum et albo cerico literis aureis inmixtarum;" A. Usk. Stow renders this "red gownes of silke garded and bordered with white silke"; p. 316.

[4] Mortimer was charged with having been at Haringhay in arms on the 13th November, 1337.

[5] "Corporis gesticulationibus et indecoris saltationibus se magis repraesentabant tortores (*tumblers*) theatrales quam milites vel viros sobrios;" Ann. Ric. 215.

had pleaded, that he had acted for the King's true interests, and that he had been twice pardoned. Bushey told him that the pardons had been repealed by the King, Lords and faithful Commons. 'Faithful Commons!' exclaimed Arundel; 'Where are the faithful Commons? The faithful Commons are not here.' Richard reminded him how he had interceded in vain for Richard Burley. Finally John of Gaunt declared the verdict and "the barbarous sentence". But the King commuted the latter for simple beheading.[1]

From Westminster straight to Tower Hill the Earl was led by Nottingham his son-in-law, and Kent his sister's son;[2] a strong body of archers hemmed them in. He maintained the same undaunted bearing to the last, threw his gold to the populace, felt the axe with his finger, and begged the executioner to make short work. At the first blow the head fell.[3]

Gloucester's case was called next. A writ was issued to Nottingham as Captain of Calais ordering him to produce his prisoner (21st September). On the 24th Nottingham gave the return to the writ that the prisoner had died at Calais while under his charge, no date being given. "But death did not save Gloucester from sentence." He was condemned as a 'notorious' traitor, and all his possessions were confiscated. Next day a garbled copy of his confession, *minus* his best points, his prayer for mercy, and the date, was produced to justify the sentence. To have admitted that he was alive and well as recently as the 8th of the month would have been too damaging, especially as there seems to have been a popular belief that he had died before.[4] Richard, in bitter irony, had a correct copy

Sentencing the Dead.

[1] Usk, 12–14; copied by the Evesham writer, 136–138; Ann. Ric. 214, 215; Eulog. III. 374; Rot. Parlt. III. 374–377; Bp. Stubbs.

[2] Nottingham was married to Elizabeth of Arundel, the earl's daughter; Kent was son of his sister Alice; Beltz, Garter, 217, 295.

[3] Ann. Ric. 216–218. Like Thomas of Lancaster, Arundel soon gained the reputation of a saint and martyr; his head was reported to have been miraculously rejoined to the body. Richard became uneasy and ordered an investigation; the head was found to have been sewn on; Id.

[4] Both Rickhill and Hall said that they had thought that Gloucester had died before the 8th September.

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of the confession foisted into the Roll of the proceedings of 1388, and placed next to Gloucester's appeal against de Vere,[1] as if to point the moral of the danger of resistance to Royal authority.

The Commons then asked for sentence on the Archbishop. The King explained that Arundel had 'confessed' to him in private, and thrown himself on his mercy. He was condemned to utter forfeiture, and banishment at the King's pleasure, Thomas Percy expressing the concurrence of the clergy.[2]

The Primate Banished.

On the 28th September the Earl of Warwick was brought up. "Unlike Arundel" he confessed his faults, throwing the blame on Gloucester, on the late Abbot of St. Albans, and a Westminster hermit-monk.[3] He was condemned to forfeiture, and banishment to the Isle of Man.[4]

Gloucester and Arundel suffered most unjustly. No doubt they had set the example of voting men to death in Parliament without trial, and so far they reaped as they had sown. But of any "balance of criminality" between them and Richard there could be no question. They had acted, however roughly or brutally, in defence of national rights; Richard had broken every pledge, and violated every duty for the gratification of his insensate lust of power.

Every precaution was taken to guard the sentences against the possibility of reversal, and every effort made to extend the scope of their penalties, both prospectively and retrospectively. The members of both Houses were required to swear that they would never consent to any revocation of the 'judgements'; the male issue of the

[1] See Rot. Parlt. 378 note. The "faulty copy" there referred to is the garbled version, for which see Mr. James Tait's essay, "Richard II," Owens Coll. Essays, 1902.

[2] Rot. Parlt. III. 351; Usk, 15. This writer, whose notes appear to be the most correct in dates, gives the day as the 24th; the Rolls have the 25th. For further details of the King's duplicity to the Primate see Rot. Parlt. 421.

[3] "Monachum reclusum Westmonasterii;" Usk. Was this the King's anchorite of 1381? Above, 257.

[4] Usk, 16; Rot. Parlt. 379; Ann. Ric. 219. The Isle of Man having been bought by William le Scrope from the Earl of Salisbury, Warwick was placed under his charge and that of his brother, Stephen le Scrope.

culprits were declared for ever incapable of sitting in 'Parliament or Council', and their acts and grants invalidated as far back as the time of their original offences.[1] On the other hand, Richard's friends received their rewards. On the 29th September an unprecedented list of titled promotions was announced. Derby became Duke of Hereford; Rutland Duke of Aumarle or Albemarle; Kent Duke of Surrey; Huntingdon Duke of Exeter; and Nottingham Duke of Norfolk. Somerset was created Marquis of Dorset; Despenser Earl of Gloucester; Ralph Neville Earl of Westmorland; Thomas Percy Earl of Worcester; and William le Scrope Earl of Wiltshire. Lastly, as if in recognition of the feminine element in Richard's party, Margaret Countess of Norfolk, daughter of Thomas of Brotherton and grandmother to Nottingham, was raised to the rank of a Duchess.[2] The last day of the session was devoted to a grand function in the Abbey, when, in pursuance of the resolution of Parliament to that effect, the lords spiritual and temporal individually, and the knights of the shires collectively, were sworn on the Shrine of the Confessor to maintain intact all the acts of the session, 'saving the King's prerogative.' Whatever happened the King must be free: free even to undo his own work. To clench the matter the prelates denounced the major excommunication against all who should infringe their oaths, a Papal envoy concurring. A dismal banquet ended the day (Sunday, 30th September); and then the servile Parliament was adjourned to meet again at Shrewsbury on the 27th January 1398.[3]

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1397

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 352; Eulog. III. 376. The King also ordained that all future peers should be sworn to maintain the acts of the session before receiving livery of their temporalities or estates. See also Foed. VIII. 19.

[2] Rot. Parlt. 355. Derby and Nottingham also received formal pardons for their concurrence in the Commission of 1386; Id. 353. Derby had a certain claim to the Earldom of Hereford through his wife Mary Bohun.

[3] Rot. Parlt. 355, 356; Usk, 17; Mon. Evesh. 141; Eulog. III. 197.

CHAPTER XXIV

Richard II (*continued*)

A.D. 1398

Parliament at Shrewsbury.—Reversal of all Acts of the Parliament of 1388.—New cases of Treason.—Customs for King's Life.—Delegation of Powers of Parliament to a Committee.—Richard supreme.—Impeachment of Norfolk by Hereford.—Banishment of both.

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1399

The Parliamentary recess was employed in settling compositions with the persons whom the King was pleased to 'exempt' from the benefit of the amnesty,[1] and in providing a successor to Archbishop Arundel. "Boniface IX showed himself as obsequious as Urban VI had been, and followed his example." Arundel was translated to St. Andrews just as Neville had been translated in 1388;[2] and Roger Walden the Treasurer was named Archbishop of Canterbury. On the 21st January 1398 he received his temporalities.[3]

The Westminster session had been given to revenge for the past; the Shrewsbury Parliament unfolded the King's plans of government for the future.

Parliament at Shrewsbury.

The session was opened on the 28th January, and it rose on the 31st; yet in those four short days it made Richard "to all intents and purposes an absolute monarch".[4]

[1] Proceedings of the Privy Council, I. 75. Fines "coram concilio" or "per recognitionem in scaccario" to the amount of £4,800 are found among the receipts of this term and the next (Michaelmas and Easter, 21 Rich.). Loans also to the amount of £7,600 were raised, of which £2,800 were repaid.

[2] Boniface subsequently assured Arundel that he was never more sorry to be obliged to do a thing. See Hook, IV. 451. St. Andrews was only vacant in the sense that the existing Bishop, Walter Trail, was a Clementine.

[3] Bp. Stubbs, II. 521; Foed. VIII. 31. Walden received his pall on the 17th February. Adam of Usk describes him as a quiet civil-spoken man of business; but not a scholar or a churchman; p. 37. The writer of the Eulogium calls him "laicum literatum"; III. 377. He was still Treasurer on 19 January; on the 21st Guy of Mohun, Bishop of St. David's, became Treasurer; Pell Rolls.

[4] Bp. Stubbs, sup.

Chancellor Stafford opened the proceedings with even less circumlocution than before; informing the lieges that they had been summoned so to arrange matters that for the future there should be 'not many Rulers within the Realm, but one'.[1] The Houses took up the Bishop's cue as intended. The autumn session had invalidated all the acts and proceedings of the Commission of 1386 but not those of the Parliament of 1388. These were now utterly swept away at a blow, on the ground that the Parliament had been held without due authority, and against the will and liberty of the King;[2] while the extrajudicial opinions of the Nottingham justices were formally declared 'good and sufficient law'.[3] The repeal of the acts of 1388 was granted at the petition of the new Appellants, now reduced to seven; Norfolk (otherwise Nottingham) having already dropped into the rear rank of the race for life or death.[4]

New Articles of Treason.

Next day a new definition of the four articles of high treason was taken up; and they were declared to be compassing the death or the deposition of the King; renouncing the liege homage due to him; and 'raising the people to make war against him within his realm'.[5] A supplementary provision introduced on the 30th January extended the penalties of treason so as to include any person who should attempt to reverse or annul 'any judgement, statute or ordinance rendered or made in the then Parliament'. Oaths to the same effect were also administered on the Cross of Canterbury; the King with some simplicity begging for suggestions as to a formula more binding than any yet devised. Both clergy and lawyers hastened to assure

[1] "Que ne soient pleuseurs Governours deinz le Roialme fors q'un"; Rot. Parlt. III. 357.

[2] As a further corollary the heirs of the Earl of Suffolk and those of the other persons condemned in 1388 were declared entitled to re-enter on their estates, but without mesne profits.

[3] Rot. Parlt. 358; Statute, 21 Rich. II, c. 12.

[4] 28 January; Rot. Parlt. 357–359. It appears that Norfolk opposed the proposed repeal of the Acts of 1388; but see below.

[5] Rot. Parlt. 351; Statute, 21 Rich. II, c. 3. The date is taken from Mon. Evesh. 143.

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him that nothing more binding could be thought of. One thing still troubled the King; he could not bind his successors. "*La perpétuité qu'il rêvait pour son œuvre lui échappait.*" [1] Again he appealed to his lieges. What would they say of an appeal to the Pope? Again the faithful Houses uplifted hand and voice in hearty approval.[2]

The points of treason having been defined, the clergy were again invited to appoint a proctor in view of the impending trials of Lord Cobham and Thomas Mortimer. They acceded at once, naming the Earl of Wiltshire, and the trials proceeded. Cobham, who had been taken from the Charterhouse, was arraigned for having sat on the Commission of 1386, and was condemned as a traitor. But Richard was pleased to commute the sentence to banishment for life to the Isle of Jersey. Mortimer was still at large, and was condemned to the full penalty (29 January).[3] On the 30th January a petition was received from Thomas le Despenser, the new Earl of Gloucester, praying for a reversal of the old sentences passed on his ancestors in 1321 and 1327;[4] also one from Dame Alice Windsor, otherwise Perrers, praying for a reversal of the ordinances passed against her in 1376 and 1377.[5] As the Despensers had been reinstated in their honours for sixty years these petitions must have been received simply for the purpose of expunging from the Rolls precedents of successful opposition to the Royal will.[6] In the promotion of Despenser to an earldom we may again note an incident that recalls the events that led to the fall of Edward II.

The last day crowned the work of the session. The Commons granted the wool and leather duties, with an extra 6*s.* 8*d.* on the sack from aliens, and that for the term of the King's life, an unprecedented grant, and one for the moment

[1] Wallon, II. 202. The writer's account of these closing years of the reign are well worth reading.

[2] Statute, sup., c. 4; Rot. Parlt. III. 359.

[3] Rot. Parlt. 359, 381; Mon. Evesh. 143; Gower, Chron. Trip. 404.

[4] Rot. Parlt. 360–367. [5] Id. 367.

[6] See also a proclamation for the production of all documents relating to the proceedings against the King's friends in 1388; Foed. VIII. 71.

quite uncalled for, as the existing grant would run to the month of November 1401. They also voted three half-Subsidies, to be raised at intervals of six months;[1] and, last and most "suicidal" act of all, they proceeded to delegate their authority to a standing committee of eighteen lords and six knights, the latter to be chosen from among themselves. The lords named were the Dukes of Lancaster, York, Aumarle, Surrey and Exeter; the Marquis of Dorset; and the Earls of March, Salisbury, Northumberland and Gloucester, with Worcester and Wiltshire to represent the clergy. The commoners were Bushey, Green, John Russell, Richard Chelmswyk, Robert Teye and John Golofre. The authority of this committee was in terms limited to the consideration of petitions left unanswered at the close of the session, and matters connected therewith.[2] But the precedent was in itself a fatal one; and the limitation was probably not seriously intended to be observed. Anyhow Richard to simplify the matter subsequently had the words altered on the Roll of the Parliament so as to extend their scope to 'all other matters moved in the presence of the King or anything dependent thereon'.[3] In return for all these concessions the Chancellor announced a general act of grace and pardon for all minor offences committed prior to the 31st January 1398; the King adding by his word of mouth that if any future Parliament should take exception to the grant of the wool duties for life the act of grace would stand void.[4]

Violence begets violence. But in a proper case violence may lawfully be used to anticipate fraud. If the acts of 1388 entailed the acts of 1397[5] it is equally clear that the Parliamentary Commission of 1386 finds its justification in

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 368. In March, Canterbury, under the lead of the new Archbishop, gave a Tenth and a half. York in the Autumn had given a half-Tenth; Wake, 325.

[2] "Les dites petitions et les matieres contenuz en ycelles"; Statute, 21 Rich. II, c. 16.

[3] "Come toutes autres matires et choses mœvez en presence du roy," &c.; Rot. Parlt. 369. The falsification of the record was subsequently made a distinct charge against Richard, Id. 418; Ann. Ric. 222.

[4] Rot. Parlt. 369.

[5] Wallon, II. 193.

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the events of 1398. We may fairly assume that as early as 1386 Gloucester had detected the despotic purposes that Richard in fact from that time to the day of his death never abandoned for one moment.[1] The more closely Richard's conduct is investigated the more clearly its consistency will be acknowledged. The French alliance was the first threat that he held out to Gloucester in 1386; and by the French alliance he accomplished his overthrow in 1397. The questions addressed to the justices at Nottingham in August 1387 expressed the views then held by the King of his own prerogative; and when in 1398 he had secured a Parliament prepared to accept any constitutional theory that he might propound, he simply reproduced his old standards. In all those years he had learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

For the moment Richard certainly had achieved an astonishing success. He had secured a revenue for life, and obtained the delegation of the powers of Parliament to a body of men whom he had every reason to believe "devoted to his interests". The result had been obtained "by long waiting for an opportunity, by labour, and self-restraint and patience, combined with unscrupulous craft and unflinching promptitude of action."[2] We have seen that from the first his mind was imbued with the highest notions of the royal prerogative, and that he made no secret of his purpose of giving effect to his views as and when he might be able to do so. The question remains how came a man capable of embarking on such an enterprise to be treated by his own age with such contempt. He probably held less intercourse with the baronage than any of his predecessors, Edward II alone excepted.[3] He hated war: we hear little of him in connexion with the tilt-yard or the hunting field. He kept within a small circle of his own, and gave much of his time to the society of elderly

[1] For William Langland's approval of Gloucester's action, see Pol. Poems, I. 383, 384, and below.

[2] Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 523, 524.

[3] See a complaint in a paper undated, but probably belonging to 1385 or 1386; Proceedings of the Privy Council, I. 86.

ladies, who doubtless flattered and caressed him, and gave him very bad political advice.[1] We have seen how he clung to the companionship of Queen Anne. In fact in mind as well as in body he exhibited much of a feminine type, and was doubtless derided by his people as a mere girl. 'Government by boys and widows' was Arundel's sarcastic description of his system.[2]

But there was "one little cloud on the horizon", though as yet no bigger than a man's hand. Two men there were who must have felt that their "original sin" could never really be forgiven, Hereford and Norfolk. Henry of Bolingbroke, who had so basely raised his voice against Arundel in his hour of trial, now sought with still greater baseness to earn forgiveness by tripping up Norfolk, late Nottingham, a man with whom he had been much more intimately associated than with Arundel. According to Henry's account, the only one that we have, the facts were as follows. Riding from Brentford to London in December, between the two sittings of Parliament, Norfolk imparted confidentially to Hereford his utter disbelief in Richard's good faith; and his conviction that they were both doomed men; he assured Bolingbroke that his father was in danger as well as himself; that in fact the ruin of the whole House of Lancaster was being plotted, and that for that purpose the old attainder against Earl Thomas would be revived. He implicated four of the new Appellants in connexion with this conspiracy, namely Surrey, Wiltshire, Salisbury and Gloucester (Despenser).[3] Bolingbroke consulted his father and he told Richard.[4] A meeting between

[1] Parliament had complained of the influence of ladies in 1388 and 1397. Lady Poynings, one of those specially denounced in 1388, was still in favour at Court; Devon, Issues, 265. The presence of the Queen and other ladies at state banquets is specially noticed in 1391 and 1393; Walsingham, II. 204; Mon. Evesh. 125. So during the Calais conferences. The admission of ladies to the fraternity of the Garter practically dates from this reign; Beltz, 245; as apparently their admission to the dinner table.

[2] "Par enfantz et conseil des vefves."

[3] Rot. Parlt. III. 360, 382; Ann. Ric. 225; Mon. Evesh. 144. Froissart inverts the story representing Norfolk as informing against Hereford; III. 315.

[4] Eulog. III. 379.

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the King and Henry was arranged in the quiet retirement of Haywood Forest near Hereford, when it was settled that the Duke should formally impeach Norfolk in the impending Shrewsbury Parliament. In his account of the conversation Bolingbroke tells us that he expressed astonishment at Norfolk's distrust of the King. Nevertheless before coming to Shrewsbury he took the precaution of exacting from Richard the promise of a second formal charter of pardon.[1]

Norfolk attacked by Hereford.

On the third day of the Shrewsbury Parliament (30 January) Hereford rose, Norfolk not being present, and, after protesting that he spoke, not from malice or enmity, but only in obedience to the King's command, handed in a written report of the conversation to the effect above given. The matter was referred to the Parliamentary Committee. Norfolk had already been deprived of the command at Calais;[2] now the Marshal's Staff, the gold Staff so recently conferred on him for life, was taken from him, and given to Surrey, late Kent;[3] while on the very same day, as if more clearly to show which way the pendulum was swinging, Hereford's recent pardon was announced in Parliament. But not till he had been made to beg for it meekly kneeling on his knees.[4] His turn however would soon come.

The next step was to issue writs summoning Norfolk under penalty of utter forfeiture to appear within fifteen days to answer Hereford's charges.[5] On the 23rd February the two Dukes met in Richard's presence at Oswestry, when Bolingbroke renewed his allegations, and Norfolk gave him the lie direct.[6] Both were then ordered to present themselves again on the 28th April, at Windsor, where the Court would have been assembled for the usual Garter Feast (St. George's Day, 23 April). From Hereford bail was

[1] The charter is dated Lilleshall, 25 January, 1398; Foed. VIII. 32.

[2] 23 January; Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 21 Rich.

[3] Rot. Parlt., sup. and 368; Beltz, 359.

[4] Rot. Parlt. 367.

[5] 4 February; Foed. sup. On the same day Hereford received £40 on account of £200 promised for secret services; Issue Roll, sup.

[6] Träison, 12; Eulog., sup.

accepted, his father and three others pledging themselves for him, "*corps pour corps*"; but Norfolk apparently was detained in custody.[1] Meanwhile Richard held a sitting of the Parliamentary Committee to decide what course further proceedings should follow (Bristol, 19 March). It was resolved that, 'failing sufficient proof,' the matters in dispute between Hereford and Norfolk should be decided 'according to the law of chivalry',[2] which was in fact the regular course. On the 29th April a grand Court of Chivalry was held at Windsor, the two litigants being present, and the Parliamentary Committee assisting. It would seem that the scope of the charges against Norfolk had been considerably enlarged at Oswestry; the murder of Gloucester being now included; also charges of having misappropriated money received for the defence of Calais, and of having laid an 'ambush' for the life of the Duke of Lancaster: the last count was admitted, but everything else denied. The 'ambush' presumably had reference to the events of 1384; and in answer to that charge the King's pardon was pleaded. Norfolk refusing to make any further confession, and no 'proof' being forthcoming, it was held that the dispute could only be settled by a wager of battle, and accordingly a 'day' was fixed for the encounter to take place, namely on Monday 16th September, and at Coventry.[3]

The sensation and excitement created by this announcement were unprecedented. All Europe wondered how the King could permit an encounter *à outrance* between men of such rank, one of them his cousin german and both of them Princes of the Blood, and the companions and associates of his boyhood. Hereford sent to Milan for a special suit of armour. The Duke Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti gave him every facility, sending his own armourer to fit the suit on. Norfolk's armourer was brought from Bohemia,

[1] Usk, 23; Träison, 13; Foed. VIII. 35; Lords' Report, IV. 763. Norfolk was clearly in custody at the Great Wardrobe, Blackfriars, on the 23rd April.

[2] "Par la cours de ley de chivalrie."

[3] Träison, 13–17; Rot. Parlt. III. 383. For the intrigues of 1384 see above, 314, 315.

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and so, presumably, his panoply came from the same quarter also.[1]

As the day drew near crowds flocked to Coventry to witness the sight. Popular feeling favoured Bolingbroke, who could pose as the avenger of the lost Gloucester.[2]

At eight o'clock in the morning on the 16th September, Albemarle and Surrey, the new Constable and Marshal, clad in their Garter robes, took formal charge of the lists. These, to remove any possibility of an inrush of the mob, had been surrounded with a wet ditch or moat besides the usual palisades.[3] At nine o'clock Hereford with six mounted attendants presented himself at the barrier. Challenged by the Constable and Marshal as to his name and business he answered that he was Henry of Lancaster, Duke of Hereford, come to do his duty against the false traitor Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. The due oath was then administered. "Thou Henry of Lancaster this thi bille ys sothe in all points and articles fro tho begynnyng continued in to tho ende and that es yur entent to prove this day on tho forseyd Thomas Mowbray so God the helpe and his halwes." The oath taken, Hereford remounted, crossed himself, and, riding to the further end of the lists, seated himself on his appointed chair; the seat was draped with the arms of St. George, and being hung with curtains could shelter him from the public gaze.[4] Richard then appeared with the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Roger Walden, the Count of St. Pol, as representing the King of France, the Parliamentary Committee, the higher Baronage and the archer guard. Norfolk then came forward and was admitted within the lists with the same formalities as his opponent. All was ready; the two combatants were posted; the lances had been measured and delivered; the heralds had sounded the last "cry" "*Faitez vos devoirs! Laissez les aller!*" Bolingbroke was setting his horse in

[1] Froissart, III. 317; Träison, 18.
[2] Ann. Ric. 226; Froissart, 319.
[3] Usk, 23.
[4] Träison, 18, 19, and for the oath Id. 152, note.

motion to begin the attack, when Richard, rising in his place, threw down his staff and cried "Hold!"[1] CHAP. XXIV 1398

> "The King did throw his warder down;
> His own life hung upon the staff he threw;
> Then threw he down himself."[2]

Richard had been subjected to great pressure from various quarters,[3] but he had kept his own counsel, being determined to get rid of both disputants. Not one of their original offences had ever been forgiven. After two hours of mortal suspense, the antagonists remaining in the lists, Bushey appeared with a parchment roll containing the King's decision. Henry of Lancaster, who, to earn forgiveness, had swallowed the very lees of humiliation, was informed that for the peace and tranquillity of the realm he must leave England for ten years. A huge outcry followed this apparent condemnation of the popular favourite.[4] But Norfolk's turn followed, and he was told that he must 'void the realm' for the term of his natural life; on the ground that he had confessed some "pointes civiliens" urged against him, which might have 'nourished troubles' for the future. The expression "civilien" points suggests minor delinquencies or defalcations that might have warranted civil but not criminal proceedings, much less impeachment for treason. The charge probably had reference to the "ambush" against John of Gaunt, to which Norfolk had confessed at Oswestry. A further count urged against Norfolk was that he had opposed the reversal of the Acts of the Merciless Parliament. The two were ordered to depart within five weeks' time; they were forbidden to hold any intercourse direct or indirect with each other abroad, or even to live in the same country, under

[1] Träison, 20, 21. The reader may compare the account of a precisely similar encounter given in Lobineau, Bretagne, I. 457.

[2] Shakespeare, Henry IV, Part ii.

[3] See Froissart, III. 319; Chron. Saint-Denys, II. 674. Charles VI urged Richard to make peace between the two; Wallon, II. 211, citing from the French archives.

[4] "Faisoient les gens si grant noise que on ne povait oir, &c."; Träison. This touch among others suggests that the writer was present.

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pain of condemnation as traitors. The same penalties were denounced against any person who should move for any the smallest modification of the sentences. All Norfolk's possessions beyond the value of £1,000 a year were confiscated; he was ordered to confine his residence to Germany, Bohemia or Hungary, with a direction to cross 'the great sea' on pilgrimage. Hereford was further forbidden to hold any intercourse with 'Thomas of Arundel' (the ex-archbishop). All these sentences were expressed to be passed by the authority of Parliament, of course as represented by the Committee.[1]

Both Dukes were sworn to obey the sentences before they left the lists. But as a favour each was allowed to appoint an attorney-general to represent him in his absence; a concession which in the case of Norfolk kept up a semblance of connexion with home. In the case of Hereford it had special reference to the probability of an early accession to the ancestral estates.[2]

For perfidy, injustice, and vindictive spite Richard's treatment of the two Dukes will hardly find a parallel in history.[3]

On the 19th October Norfolk sailed for the Rhine.[4] From Germany he went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem as suggested by the King; returning by way of Venice, he died there of the plague, being according to different authorities between thirty-two and thirty-five years old.[5] Hereford took his departure by way of Calais, having received permission to reside there for a month or more if he pleased. His reception on the Continent was that of a man who had a future in store for him. William of Ostrevant, son of the Count of Holland, invited him to

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 383, 384; Träison, 21, 22.

[2] Träison, 23; Foed. VIII. 47–51; Rot. Parlt. 372.

[3] M. Wallon is severe on the two. "Le comte Maréchal . . . traître envers son Roi, traître envers ses complices, est trahi à son tour par le complice de ses trahisons. . . . Quant à Derby, trois fois traître déjà, une trahison de plus lui devait ménager une toute autre fortune;" II. 218.

[4] Rot. Parlt. 384.

[5] See Beltz, 297. According to Dugdale Norfolk died on Monday before Michaelmas Day, 1 Henry IV. That should be 27 September, 1400; but it seems that the day really was 22 September, 1399. See Beltz.

Hainault, but he preferred to go to Paris, where he had an ally in the Duke of Berri, Burgundy being Richard's confidant. The French Court gave Bolingbroke a cordial welcome, too cordial to please Richard, and among the French princes he took up his quarters patiently to abide the course of events.[1]

Richard might now think his triumph complete. Gloucester and Arundel were dead; Warwick was in prison. Hereford and Norfolk had been utilized for the ruin of their former associates, and then cleverly got rid of; Lancaster was past giving trouble; York never had given any. The Parliamentary Committee placed at the King's disposal all the powers of the national assembly, and if any question with the Church should arise a subservient Pope filled St. Peter's chair at Rome. With both spiritual and temporal arms at command Richard could look forward to a serene period of unfettered autocracy such as his soul loved. Already a scandalous job had been perpetrated with the help of Boniface. A bishopric was wanted for Henry Beaufort, John of Gaunt's son, a youth perhaps of three-and-twenty years.[2] Lichfield was vacant, but Lichfield was not good enough for the son of Katherine Swynford; and so the venerable Bishop John of Buckingham, who had filled the rich See of Lincoln for five-and-thirty years, was translated to Lichfield to create a vacancy at Lincoln. On the 14th July (1398) Beaufort was consecrated.[3] But the Pope's favour had to be requited; and as a suitable return the King published an arbitrary 'modification' of the Statutes of Provisors.[4] The keeping up of the offensive Bodyguard,[5] and the development of an almost Oriental etiquette at court, marked the new social relations of the

[1] Foed. VIII. 48; Froissart, III. 323, 325; Saint-Denys, II. 674, 676.

[2] See Armitage Smith, 389.

[3] Foed. 41; Reg. Sacr. Buckingham refused to be translated and retired to Canterbury; Ann. Ric. 226.

[4] See the King's writ, dated 16 January, 1399; Wilkins, Conc. III. 236; Lingard, III. 273. Richard endeavoured to get the approval of the Convocation of Canterbury, but without success; Ann. Ric. 227; Wake, 325.

[5] "Le Wache" (watch); Rot. Parlt. III. 349. The very name of guard was unknown. See also Ann. Ric. 218; Usk, 22.

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King to his subjects;[1] while every sort of arbitrary and unconstitutional proceeding was freely indulged in. The practice of Purveyance was revived: the exaction of forced loans continued: the sheriffs were sworn to act on any private orders that they might receive from the King. Cities and boroughs were sworn to keep and observe all the acts of the Parliament of 1397–1398;[2] while the range, not merely of persons, but of classes, who might be 'exempted' from the amnesty seemed endless. Seventeen counties were told to consider themselves as virtually outlawed for having sent men to Haringay and Radcote Bridge. At first it would seem that Richard endeavoured to exact compositions from the counties collectively, but that this proceeding was dropped, probably because it met with such opposition, and that instead bonds were taken from individuals high and low. Sometimes definite sums were named; in other cases men were required to affix their seals to blank 'charters', the extent of liability being left to be filled in afterwards. These exactions were called ironically *Le Plesaunce*.[3] Afterwards, in view of a trip to Ireland, the King had the bonds given back to the obligors, with an intimation however that the liabilities were not cancelled, but might yet be enforced: the idea being to keep the people loyal by holding these undertakings over their heads *in terrorem*.

But of the two frail bulwarks that seemed to shelter Richard's throne one had been removed before Bolingbroke left England. On the 20th July (1398) Roger III Earl of March, the Heir Presumptive, fell in Ireland, in a skirmish, fighting the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles who had occupied

[1] On crown-wearing days the King after dinner established himself on a throne, and sat there without speaking to any one till Vespers. If he looked at any one the person had to bow the knee; Eulog. III. 378. For Richard's loss of popularity compare the two songs by Gower, written one 1396–1397, the other 1398–1399; Pol. Poems, I. 346, 360.

[2] See the "supplicacion" of the city of London; Chron. Lond. (Nicolas), 155.

[3] See Proceedings P. Council, I. 81; Foed. VIII. 66; the later indictment of Richard, Rot. Parlt. III. 419, 420; Ann. Ric. 234–237; Mon. Evesh. 146, 147; Eulog., sup.; Gower, Chron. Trip. 111, 112. A bundle of these blank charters is preserved in the Record Office, Treasury of Receipts, Miscell. 15/7.

lands in Leinster claimed by him.[1] His loyal and submissive attitude towards Richard would have been a clear obstacle in the path of any aspirant to the Crown. The devolution of his rights to a son six years old reduced the obstacle to a *minimum*. The other protection went shortly. On the 3rd February 1399 John of Gaunt was gathered to his fathers. He passed away in the castle at Leicester in his fifty-ninth year,[2] his end being doubtless hastened by bitterness at the cruel injustice with which his years of grovelling service had been requited by the King.

[1] Inquis. P. M., 22 Rich. II, No. 34; "Juxta Kenlasoc"; Usk, 19; Kells in County Kilkenny, Four Masters, I. 761 note; Gilbert, Viceroys, 278, gives the place as Callistown in Carlow.

[2] Otterbourne, 197; Ann. Ric. 232. In accordance with his wishes, John's remains were carried to London and buried at St. Paul's beside those of Duchess Blanche; Armitage Smith, 407, 408; q. v. 420 for the Duke's elaborate Will; and 447 for his income for the year 2 February 1394–1395, where the reader will note the moderate amount of the ordinary landed revenues, only £2,626, as compared with £12,249 received partly from Spain under the treaty and partly from the Treasury for the keeping of Aquitaine.

CHAPTER XXV

Richard II (*continued*)

A.D. 1399

Expedition to Ireland.—Return of Hereford.—Rising in his favour.—Richard agrees to abdicate on terms.—Arrested by Northumberland.—Delivered to Hereford at Flint, taken to London and sent to the Tower.

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1399

The death of John of Gaunt left Richard face to face with his most dangerous antagonist. Ignoring the strength of the immense feudal following of the House of Lancaster, and its general popularity as the traditional guardian of the national liberties, he proposed to reduce Bolingbroke to impotence by confiscating his inheritance. At a meeting of the Parliamentary Committee held on the 18th March the letters patent by which Henry had been allowed to appoint attornies to take seisin on his behalf in his absence were cancelled, on the ground, forsooth, that they had been granted through 'inadvertence', the discovery having been made that the King's decision at Coventry amounted to a sentence of forfeiture, with perpetual banishment.[1]

Confiscation of Lancastrian estates.

Richard had, perhaps, already gone too far to draw back; nevertheless by this crowning act of injustice and bad faith he completed his own unpopularity, and gave Henry an indisputable grievance, both in the eyes of England and of all Europe.[2] Relieved from all scruples on the score of his oath, the Duke at once put himself into communication with the exiled Archbishop Arundel, next to himself Richard's most formidable enemy, and one no more disposed to submit to exile than himself. Thomas had been

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 372. To keep up a semblance of equity the corresponding favours granted to Norfolk were cancelled also. Hereford's agent, who obtained the patents, was condemned as a traitor; Id. 385.

[2] Froissart, III. 332–335.

to Florence, had seen Pope Boniface, and learned that no opposition to his restoration would be raised at the Papal Court; and so was biding his time at Cologne, with his nephew Thomas, son of the late Earl of Arundel, who had escaped from custody in England.[1]

Having thus provoked his adversaries to the utmost, Richard now gave them their opportunity by undertaking a most ill-timed and uncalled-for journey to Ireland. The expedition had been resolved upon from the winter of the previous year,[2] but active preparations had not begun till 1399. In contemplation of the King's departure all Richard's Liverymen were summoned to London to receive orders. The other measures taken for impressing shipping; collecting victuals and transport; raising money; and keeping the country quiet in the King's absence were all so much more fuel to feed the flame of public discontent.[3] As a matter of fact there was no abnormal state of disorder in Ireland; nothing to call for a Royal visit. The only acute question had been provoked by Richard himself, through a grant of lands, made in violation of a contract, to his favourite Surrey, late Kent, who had been appointed King's Lieutenant in succession to the deceased March.[4]

On the 16th September the King made his Will, by which he bequeathed the residue of his jewels and money to 'his successor'; but only on condition of maintaining all the acts and proceedings of the Parliament of 1397–1398 as well as all the future acts and proceedings of the same 'Parliament'; a provision which seemed to indicate that the King did not contemplate an early dissolution of the Committee.[5] A few days later Surrey was sent on in

[1] Bp. Stubbs, II. 526; Chron. Lond. 83.

[2] Issue Roll, Michaelmas, 21 Rich. II; 26 December, 1397, orders for preparation; also Devon, Issues, 266.

[3] See Nicolas, Royal Navy, II. 339; Foed. VIII. 67, 70, 78; Ann. Ric. 230, 234, 236. Cf. Froissart, III. 338, an exaggerated picture no doubt.

[4] See Gilbert, 278; Surrey had been appointed 26 July, 1398; Beltz, 359. For the strange stipulations made by him as conditions of accepting office, see Gilbert, 560, from MS. Titus, B. XI.

[5] Foed. 75. Richard eventually left nearly £61,000; the only King since John to leave anything but debts.

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1399

advance. On the 23rd April the King held the Garter Feast at Windsor with unusual splendour; robes were provided for two-and-twenty ladies, an unprecedented number;[1] at the conclusion of the festivities he took a tender and last farewell of his girl-Queen, still only in her tenth year.[2]

On the 18th May[3] the Duke of York was once more appointed Regent, but the conduct of affairs was entrusted to the hated quartet: William Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire the Treasurer; John Bushey the Speaker; William Bagot and Henry Green.[4] No language was too strong, no simile too coarse, to express the popular detestation of these chosen instruments of oppression.

> "Ther is a busch that is forgrowe
> Crop hit welle, and hold it lowe,
> or elles hit wolle be wilde.
> The long gras that is so grene
> Hit most be mowe, and raked clene
> forgrowen hit hath the fellde.
> The grete bagge, that is so mykille
> Hit schal be kettord,[5] and maked litelle;
> the bothom is my ouzt, &c."[6]

All being ready the King moved down to Milford. The Dukes of Gloucester (Despenser), Salisbury and Ormond;[7] and the Lords Grey of Ruthin Morley and Bardolf were attached to the expedition. Richard also took with him the Bishop of St. David's, late Treasurer,[8] the Bishops of Lincoln and Carlisle,[9] and divers hostage youths, chief of

[1] See the list, Beltz, Garter, 254.

[2] Träison, 26; 25th April, note Williams. Isabelle was sent to Wallingford after the King's departure; Foed. VIII. 83.

[3] So Pauli, II. 622.

[4] Träison, 24; Foed., sup. Scrope was appointed Treasurer 17 Sept. 1398; Poyle.

[5] Taken down, humbled.

[6] Pol. Poems, I. 363. So again Gower:

> "Grene Scrop, Bussy, cordis sine lumine fusci,
> Omne nefas quaerunt quo laedere plus potuerunt;" Id. 436.

They were the men who assessed the amounts of the bonds, fines, &c.; Proceedings of the Privy Council, I. 76.

[7] James Butler III, who succeeded his father, James II, in 1382.

[8] Guy of Mohun, consecrated in 1397. He had succeeded Walden at the Treasury, 22 January, 1398; Pell Roll.

[9] Thomas Merkes, consecrated in 1397.

whom were Humphrey, son of the late Gloucester, and Henry, the son of Bolingbroke, the future Henry V.[1] Ten days the King was detained at Milford Haven by foul winds; on the 29th May he winged his flight, leaving England free to open her arms to the Duke of Lancaster.[2]

To follow up the King's movements. On the 1st June he landed at Waterford.[3] The natives were all in arms, Richard having again contrived to put his adversaries in the right. The lands conferred upon Surrey were the barony of Norragh, which belonged to the wife of Art MacMurragh, and had been specially guaranteed to her in 1395.[4] After six days' halt at Waterford Richard advanced to Kilkenny, and rested there for fourteen days, waiting for Albemarle late Rutland, who was lingering unaccountably in England. After that, however, a further advance must have been made, as on the 23rd June Richard flattered himself that he had fairly brought MacMurragh to bay; and in honour of the occasion proceeded to dub young Henry of Lancaster and some eight or ten other young scions of nobility. But in fact the Irish prince was safely entrenched in an impregnable wood, with 3,000 men 'as bold and handy as any I ever saw'.[5] The King called for pioneers. Two thousand five hundred friendly natives were sent to the front; their exertions opened a way; and the army pushed on in order of battle. But MacMurragh still declined to come out; though his men skirmished actively with the English van, hurling darts which neither hauberk nor plates could withstand.[6] Absolute want, however, shortly forced the English to fall back on the coast. We are told that five men would be glad to share a loaf between them, and that many had to go for days without

Irish Tactics.

[1] Foed. VIII. 67, 78, 82; Ann. Ric. 247, 248; Walsingham, II. 233; Beltz, 242, 274; and the metrical history by Jean Créton, a Frenchman who was with Richard; Archaeol. XX. 23, 297. Webb.

[2] See Ann. Ric. 239, 242; and Pol. Poems, sup., and another song written in June or July, p. 366; also one written about September by Langland, the author of Piers Plowman, p. 368.

[3] Holinshed, Hist. Ireland, cited Webb.

[4] Gilbert, 278. See above.

[5] "Moult hardi, et si apers que counques telz ne vy"; Créton, p. 299.

[6] Id. 301.

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bread, while green oats were the only provender procurable for the horses. The arrival of three ships laden with stores brought some relief; desperate were the struggles of the famished soldiery to get at the victuals and the liquor; and considerable the ensuing intoxication in the evening.[1] But Richard, sick of the campaign, ordered a retirement to Dublin. Meanwhile all hostile territory had been ravaged. MacMurragh, however, who claimed to be 'High King' (*Ardrigh*) of Ireland, maintained a defiant attitude, and declared that for all the treasures of the sea he would not stoop to sue for peace. Nevertheless a begging friar shortly came in asking for an interview on his behalf. Gloucester, the captain of the rearguard with his command, given as 200 lances and 1,000 archers strong, was sent to meet the King.[2] The conference took place on the banks of a stream at some distance from the sea, the two leaders conversing apart from their men. Each clung to his own view of the case, so no accord was come to. Richard was furious at the contumacy of the Chief and swore by St. Edward that he would not leave Ireland till he had him dead or alive in his hands. Meanwhile however the army held on to Dublin; there at last Albemarle joined them.[3] Eleven days the active campaign had lasted. Between them Richard's two expeditions exhibit the English rule in Ireland at its lowest.

Hereford returns.

Bolingbroke lost no time when he heard of Richard's departure for Ireland. No opposition to his plans was offered at the French court, where his intentions must have been well known; on the contrary the Duke of Orleans sealed a private treaty of amity with him (17 June). Soon after that Henry left Paris by way of Saint-Denis, went down to Boulogne, and there took ship.[4] Some fifteen lances,

[1] See Créton, 304.

[2] Créton, 302–305. This force would imply a total army of about 800 lances and 4,000 archers.

[3] Créton, 298–309. The writer was present at the interview: he describes MacMurragh as a tall handsome man, who galloped his bare-backed steed downhill in grand style. The horse was said to have cost 400 cows.

[4] Chron. Saint-Denys, II. 700–706; Ann. Ric. 240–242. Henry visited the

and perhaps forty to sixty men in all made up the party, which, however, was graced by the presence of the exiled Archbishop, his nephew, and the lord Cobham who had escaped from Jersey. The other named persons, Erpingham, Rempston, Waterton, Russell, were simply retainers of the House of Lancaster.[1] The sailing of an armed squadron of ten or twelve ships could not escape notice, and Henry seems rather to have courted attention by touching at various points, as if to sound public feeling, and notably at Pevensey, the Arundel stronghold. But the strength of his party lay in the North, and accordingly skirting the east coast he finally landed at Ravenspur,[2] near Bridlington, about the 4th July.[3]

He came not unexpected. Ever since the promulgation of the decree that robbed him of his inheritance he had been in communication with his numerous sympathizers and friends, and Richard's still more numerous enemies.

"In Holdernesse he landed with fourty menne
Wher the lordes of Lyncolnshire hym mette;
Bothe Wyloughby Roos and Darcy then.
And Beaumont also with penouns proudly bette,
By ordinance of Henry Percy sette
Erle of Northumberland and Sir Henry
His soone, wardeyns of the Marche severally."[4]

Henry's first advance however was directed towards Pickering, a royal castle which admitted him without demur. After a short stay he moved on to Knaresborough,

Abbot of Saint-Denis on his way, and promised the restitution of the revenues of Deerhurst Priory; a promise which was faithfully kept; Träison, xxxiii.

[1] J. Hardyng, 349; Mon. Evesh. 151; Ann. Ric. 242; Walsingham, II. 232; cf. the fragmentary Chron. Träison, Appendix, 286. Adam of Usk, however, gives Bolingbroke's numbers as nearly 300.

[2] The place apparently had already ceased to exist as a town. "Ubi quondam fuit villa;" Ann. Ric. "In loco applicari insolito vix cum ccc. applicuit;" Usk.

[3] Ann. Ric. 244; Chron. Croyland, Cont., cited Träison, Appendix, 292. Adam of Usk who joined Henry a month later, and who is usually very accurate in his dates, says that he landed in the North on the 28th June; this might be the date of the sailing, or perhaps of the landing at Pevensey, which was reported to the Regent on the 3rd July.

[4] J. Hardyng, p. 349.

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which also surrendered, but not without hesitation. Another stage brought him to Pontefract, one of his own castles, and a third to Doncaster. By that time the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, the Baron of Greystock, and others above named had joined him.[1] The importance which the movement was now assuming, and perhaps the divided opinions of those who from one motive or another had fallen in with it, made a declaration of the Duke's intentions necessary. He proclaimed upon oath that he had only come to claim his inheritance and to reform the government.

> "Ther swore the duke upon the sacrament
> To claim no more but his mothers heritage,
> His fathers landes and his wifes in good intent,
> And to laye down both tax and tallage.
> . . . . . .
> He swore also the Kyng in governaunce
> To be put by good and hole provision;
> And Chesshyre men, for theyr misgovernaunce
> To voyde out of his house." [2]

Circulars to that effect were also apparently disseminated throughout the country.[3]

The declaration of course must simply be regarded as put out to disarm opposition, allay excitement, and give time for the situation to develop. If Henry and Arundel had already sinned beyond forgiveness, what possible room for pardon could be left after a fresh outbreak? Richard's own conduct had left no room for any middle course. In London the first alarm was apparently sounded about the 3rd of July, when the Regent was informed of armed cruisers in the Channel, and of a landing actually effected at Pevensey.[4]

Action of the Regent.

[1] See an old Kirkstall MS. Träison, Appendix, 286; Usk, 24; Träison, 33, 34.

[2] J. Hardyng, 350; see also the manifesto issued by the Percys in 1403, Id. 352, and that by Archbishop Scrope in 1405, Angl. Sacr. II. 362; also Walsingham, II. 233, "Omnes . . . statuerunt inprimis persequi Regis malos consiliarios."

[3] Eulog. III. 381; Träison, 35–37.

[4] Pat. 23 Ric. II, m. 5 dorso. On the 23rd and 24th June several arrests were ordered; Id. m. 7 dorso.

On the 7th July he held a council at St. Albans and gave orders for manning castles and calling out levies to muster at Ware.[1] But in spite of double pay offered by Scrope it was found that very few were disposed to draw the sword in earnest, saving always the fighting Bishop of Norwich, Henry le Despenser, who remained true to his antecedents.[2] On the 10th July the levies summoned from Yorkshire were countermanded, for fear of trouble from the Scots; on the 12th the Regent returned to Westminster; on the 14th he went down to Aylesbury, and to Oxford on the 16th. Orders were still being issued for the defence of Kent, as if the Government did not yet know from what quarter danger was most to be apprehended.[3] On the 20th July the Regency Council fell back from Oxford to Wallingford, definite intelligence having at last reached them. The Regent, in answer to his own demand for explanations, had received from Henry a request for a personal interview, and the doomed four, Scrope, Bagot, Bushey and Green, finding that York was beginning to vacillate, fled to Bristol,[4] to put themselves into communication with the King, the Regent following their steps. Meanwhile Bolingbroke was coming down upon them by way of Derby, Leicester, Kenilworth and Evesham, the three first being family strongholds. On the 27th of the month the converging forces met, and uncle and nephew had an amicable interview outside Berkeley castle. York accepted Henry's explanations, and joined him with all his following, except the Bishop of Norwich, William Elmham and a few subordinates who were all placed under arrest.[5] Personally the Duke of York was a man of no weight. But he was the King's uncle and representative; and his adhesion seemed to clothe Henry's subsequent acts with the authority of Richard's own government. Among those who followed

[1] Pat. sup. m. 4 and 5 dorso; Rot. Claus. 23, m. 5.

[2] Träison, 37, 38, 184; Ann. Ric. 244; Mon. Evesh. 152.

Pat. sup. m. 4, &c.; Claus. sup. 3, 4, &c. The Treasury was closed on the 12th July; Issue Roll.

[4] Ann. Ric. 244, 245; Träison, sup.

[5] Mon. Evesh. 152; Ann. Ric. 246; Träison, 39, and Appendix, 292.

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the Regent's example on this occasion was John Beaufort, Marquis of Dorset, a man whom Richard had loaded with honours, and who was at the time Admiral of All the Fleets.[1] Possibly he might plead the duty of supporting the head of his House.

Next day the combined forces advanced to Bristol and the Duke of York used his influence with the Constable, Peter Courtenay, to procure the surrender of the castle.[2] With the town and castle were surrendered the Earl of Wiltshire, Bushey, and Green. Bagot had gone over to Ireland. On the 29th July the three were put through a form of trial before the Constable and Marshal of Henry's army, and then straightway beheaded; just as Henry le Despenser had been executed in 1326.[3]

The fall of Bristol proved the turning-point of the revolution. Richard, who had landed in South Wales some ten days before,[4] was thus cut off from the southern half of his dominions; the only danger now was that he might make for Cheshire, the royalist stronghold, and establish himself there. Towards Chester, therefore, Henry turned his steps without the loss of a single day. On the 30th July he marched to Berkeley; and from thence advancing along the Welsh March by way of Gloucester, Ross, Hereford, Leominster, Ludlow, and Shrewsbury took possession of Chester on the 9th of August.[5]

King's movements.

Richard's movements after the time of Henry's landing fall into significant obscurity. The one thing that comes out clearly is his utter helplessness in the face of the crisis.

[1] Träison, 39. See Beltz, Garter, 355. According to the former Dorset had corresponded with Henry abroad.

[2] Peter was confirmed in an appointment as Captain of Calais a few days later; Foed. VIII. 83; Beltz, Garter, 331.

[3] Mon. Evesh. 153; Ann. Ric. 246; Walsingham, II. 233; Usk, 24. The last writer was present; he gives the day of Henry's entry into Bristol as the 29th July.

[4] See below. The fact was known at Bristol on the 28th or 29th July; Ann. Ric. 247.

[5] Usk, 25, 26; Mon. Evesh. 153, 154; Träison, Appendix, 280. Cheshire had been annexed to the Crown as a principality after Gloucester's death; Rot. Parlt. III. 353; 25 September, 1397.

The news must have reached him on the 11th or 12th July,[1] not much later than it reached London. According to Créton, who was with Richard in Dublin, the first resolution was to return to England at once, and in one body. But Albemarle persuaded the King to divide his forces; sending Salisbury over to North Wales, while he and the main army crossed over to South Wales. Salisbury sailed to Conway at once and within four days had raised a considerable force.[2] Richard himself did not leave Dublin till the 17th July;[3] two days later he landed at Milford.[4] The most leisurely advance would have brought him to Gloucester or Bristol in ample time to forstall Henry's attack. But Richard, distrustful of his English subjects, resolved to stake his all on the fidelity of Welshmen. As Salisbury had been sent into North Wales, so now Gloucester (Despenser) and Worcester (Thomas Percy) were commissioned to raise men in Glamorgan, the King remaining at Carmarthen.[5] What amount of success Albemarle met with does not appear. According to a Welshman in Bolingbroke's camp the men of Glamorgan did not greatly respond to his overtures.[6] Anyhow, Richard, panic-stricken, suddenly took horse and rode off by night in the disguise of a priest, to join Salisbury at Conway. Surrey, Exeter, Gloucester, Stephen Scrope, and the three Bishops of Carlisle, Lincoln and St. David's accompanied him; also one William Ferriby, a notary; Janico d'Artas, a Gascon; and Richard Magdelen a confidential clerk or secretary, who bore a remarkable likeness to the King,[7] fourteen persons

[1] The Council called on receipt of the news was held on a Saturday; Créton, 312. This must have been the 12th July; the writer's detailed notes of his stay in Ireland make up about forty-five days from the 1st June. The 'six weeks in Dublin without news', p. 309, must be read 'six weeks in Ireland'.

[2] Créton, 312–316. The writer accompanied Salisbury; on landing they heard that all England had joined the Duke.

[3] So the account of John Lufwyk, Receiver of Richard's Chamber, Enrolled Foreign Accounts, 1–6, Henry IV. Mr. Haydon in the Eulogium miscopies the date as 27 July.

[4] Créton, 321. Usk, 27, makes Richard land at Pembroke, practically the same place, but with the date of the 22nd July, which is clearly too late.

[5] Usk, 27, 40. [6] Usk, sup. [7] See Lancaster and York, I. 20.

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in all.[1] This craven flight must have been taken on hearing of York's defection. The boyish self-confidence that had borne Richard so bravely in the face of Wat Tyler and his men, the arrogant assumptions of his later years, had all evaporated and left him a mere pricked windbag, ashamed of himself and afraid to be recognized. Blank was his dismay when on reaching Conway about the 31st July he found that Salisbury's fickle levies, tired of waiting for a King who did not appear, had broken up and gone home.[2] Among the few who remained to greet their King were the Welsh chiefs Owain Glendwr and perhaps Guillim ap Tudor.[3]

At Carmarthen, Albemarle and Worcester, abandoned by the King, broke up the household, which had been left with them; disbanded the army, seized the King's treasures, and made off to join the Duke. Riding in detached parties they fell into the hands of the Welsh, who stripped them of their ill-gotten plunder, and sent them off in sorry plight.[4] Thus it will be seen that Richard was not deserted by his men till he had deserted them.

Attempt at negotiation.

All hope of successful resistance in the field being gone, Richard consented to allow the two Hollands, Surrey and Exeter, to open negotiations with Henry at Chester (9 August?).[5] The news of the dispersion of Albemarle's force, which followed shortly, threw the King into a fresh paroxysm of terror. He retreated to Beaumaris; the castle was in a dismantled condition, and he had to sleep on straw. He moved on to Carnarvon, but found things no better there; weary and dispirited he returned to Conway. He is represented as dividing his time between

[1] Créton, 321–323, 326. The writer saw the party arrive. We need not however assume, as he does, that Richard rode the whole 150 miles in one night.

[2] With the datum of Richard's sailing from Dublin, 17 July, Créton's dates work out very satisfactorily. Salisbury sailed four days before the King, 13 July; fourteen days had elapsed since the King sailed, making eighteen days since he and Salisbury parted. 13 July + 18 days = 31 July; and again 17 July + 14 = 31 July.

[3] Créton, 147, note Webb.

[4] Id. 326–328, 336. The writer heard the story eight days later. Adam of Usk saw some of the leaders brought to Henry's camp in pitiful condition; so too Ann. Ric. 249.

[5] Créton, 330–333; and for the date, 351; Ann. Ric. 249.

invocations of the Madonna and curses on the Duke, at times bursting into tears.[1]

Richard's envoys were not allowed to return. Exeter, who was married to Bolingbroke's sister, Elizabeth of Lancaster, was received as a friend, while Surrey was consigned to the castle.[2] On the 14th August Archbishop Arundel and the Earl of Northumberland were commissioned to deliver Henry's answers to Richard's overtures.[3] The Primate, however, appears to have been relieved of the disagreeable duty of holding an interview with the fallen King, to be the bearer of representations that might never be fulfilled. Northumberland went alone, with a strong military escort—four hundred lances and a thousand archers. Travelling by Flint and Rhuddlan he obtained the capitulation of both castles; on the third day, Sunday 17th August,[4] he reached the banks of the river Conway, which had to be crossed, as the castle stood on the left or farther shore. The army, however, was left at a distance, a few miles in the rear, and behind a hill, while the Earl sent a herald over the water to demand a safe conduct for himself. The passport having been granted, Northumberland crossed the river, and had an interview with Richard, at which Bishop Merkes and Salisbury assisted.[5] No official record of what passed was penned, but, according to the general understanding in England, Richard was induced to agree to abdicate, and to accompany Bolingbroke to London, to meet Parliament, on condition of receiving a guarantee for his own personal safety, with suitable maintenance, and for the safety of eight followers, among whom were Surrey, Exeter, Albemarle, Salisbury, Gloucester, the

[1] Créton, 336–340.

[2] Id. 342–345; Träison, 45, 46. Exeter was made to discard the White Hart, Richard's badge, and assume Henry's badge.

[3] Usk, 27. The writer was at Chester with the Archbishop at the time; Ann. Ric. 249.

[4] Mon. Evesh. 155.

[5] Créton, 347–354. All the authorities except Créton represent the Archbishop as being at Conway; but I cannot believe that he could have escaped the Frenchman's very observing eyes if he had been there. Arundel only turned up later, at Flint, and was immediately recognized.

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Bishop of Carlisle and the clerk Magdelen.[1] According to the version circulated among the little band of the King's attendants the Duke only asked to be admitted to his inheritance; and the King would accompany him to London for the trial of his, Richard's, own adherents, at which the Duke as High Steward, would preside.[2] This of course is absurd; but we may be more inclined to accept the statement that Richard endeavoured to comfort his followers by assuring them that the English would certainly return to their allegiance if they were once fairly confronted with their King, and that then the traitors would have their reward.[3]

The wretched man frankly confesses to his duplicity, as if to justify beforehand any duplicity on the part of his adversaries.

Whatever the terms offered to the King may have been, Northumberland swore to them.[4] Richard was then pressed to lose no time in going to Chester to meet the Duke; and accordingly he started on the morrow, Northumberland going in advance. The Royal party was now reduced to some two-and-twenty souls, one of them, be it noted, being the hostage boy, Henry of Monmouth, who had just celebrated his twelfth birthday.[5] Descending the hill behind which Northumberland's men had been left in ambush, they found themselves surrounded, and at the mercy of the Earl. Richard's last hope seemed dashed, and he broke down utterly. They halted at Rhuddlan for dinner, pressing on to Flint for a sleepless night.[6]

Next morning, Tuesday 19th August,[7] Henry appeared betimes at Flint. Spurring hotly in advance of the others came the Archbishop, together with Albemarle and Worcester,

[1] Ann. Ric. 249, 250; Walsingham, II. 234; Eulog. III. 382.

[2] Créton, 354–357.

[3] Id. 357–361. The writer saw and frankly admits that neither side meant to keep faith. "L'un pensoit mal et l'autre pis." But he thought the King's conduct the more excusable. "Force n'a loi."

[4] Id. 360.

[5] 9 August; Créton, 369.

[6] Id. 361–368; cf. Träison, 47–52, an inflated account with passages transcribed from Créton. The latter tells us that he wished himself in France when he saw Northumberland's army.

[7] Créton, 369, erroneously gives the Tuesday as 22 August, but it fell on the 19th August.

the two latter exhibiting no longer the White Harts of Richard II, but the Greyhound Couples of Henry of Bolingbroke.[1] To their credit it should be stated that they took care to keep out of Richard's sight. Richard drew Arundel aside and held a long colloquy with him. The substance, as reported by Salisbury to the outer circle, was that the King might consider his personal safety guaranteed.[2]

After dinner—a dismal meal prolonged to the utmost in doubt as to what might follow—Richard had his interview with Henry in the castle yard. The Duke approached in due form, armed, but bareheaded, and bowed twice. The King, who had recovered his self-possession, then doffed his hood—the priest's hood that he still wore—and greeted him. 'Hail fair cousin of Lancaster.' Bolingbroke bowed a third time, and in answer to the King's greeting told him bluntly 'that he was come to help him to govern better than he had done'. Richard preserving his dignity, replied, 'Fair cousin of Lancaster, if ye be pleased so are we.'[3] After a short interval Henry ordered a horse for the King, and, without further ado, led him off to Chester.[4] There he was cruelly placed in charge of his two bitterest enemies the sons of the late Arundel and Gloucester. That same night writs were sealed at Chester, in the King's name, for a Parliament to meet at Westminster on the 30th September.[5]

March to London.

Next day (Wednesday 20 August) Henry dismissed a large proportion of his troops, and then started for London with his captive. Their first three stages brought them

[1] Id. 371. "Liberata nostra vocata Colere;" Foed. VIII. 165. "Liberatam collariorum leporariis convenientium;" Usk, 24, and Sir E. M. Thompson's note, 133; Träison, Appendix, 283; Pol. Poems, I. 386, 'the greyhound to chase the hart'.

[2] "Qu'il naroit nul mal de son corps;" Créton, 371. For greater accuracy he gives this part of his narrative in prose.

[3] Créton, 374. The words of course are only given in French, but the writer says that he gives us "les propres paroles . . . sans y riens prendre ne adiouster". He not only heard the words, but also compared notes with Salisbury. Henry turned his back on the Earl who had turned his back on him in Paris in the previous winter (so too Froissart, III. 334).

[4] Créton, 375. The writer made friends with Lancaster Herald who introduced him to Henry and obtained protection for him; 373.

[5] Lords' Report, Appendix. Proclamations for observing the King's peace were also issued; Foed. 84, 85. All writs, &c., down to the time of Richard's deposition were tested as if in his presence. "T. R. ipso."

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to Nantwich, Newcastle-under-Lyne, and Stafford. Lichfield was reached on the evening of Saturday the 23rd August; and there they rested over the Sunday. During that time Richard made an attempt to escape, by letting himself down at night from the window of his apartment; the attempt was frustrated, and from that time he was condemned to sleep with warders in his room. Another week of marching brought the dismal *cortège* by Coventry, Daventry, and Northampton, to St. Albans. There again they rested over Sunday (31st August).[1] On Monday 1st September the last stage was taken. Five or six miles outside London the Mayor and city Gilds met them in procession; the King was greeted with respect,[2] but the real plaudits were reserved for the victorious Duke. Two miles from the City the party divided; Richard was entrusted to the civic authorities to be escorted to Westminster, while Henry made a circuit, so as to be able to enter the City by 'the chief gate' (Bishopsgate?). The point of this was to enable him to march with undivided honours through Cheapside[3] to St. Paul's, there to offer in due form, and also to pay a dutiful visit to the tomb of his father.[4] Next day Richard was quietly sent by water to the Tower,[5] never again to be seen in public. From Créton's illumination we learn that, whether willingly or unwillingly, Richard to the last had retained his clerical disguise.

Bolingbroke stayed for some days at St. Paul's; removing from thence to St. John's Hospital, his men being quartered in Smithfield. From Clerkenwell again he went down to Hertford to await the meeting of Parliament.[6] Arundel reinstated himself at Lambeth, having already got rid of the "intrusive" Walden. He was also now for the third time re-appointed Chancellor; but at the end of a few days he handed the Seal over to John of Scarle, late Master of the Rolls.[7]

[1] 23 Pat. Ric. II; also Träison, 215; Créton, 376; Ann. Ric. 251. Cf. Mon. Evesh. 156. [2] "Le saluerent et le duc henry apres," &c.
[3] "La grant rue . . . la chipstrate." [4] Créton, 377, 378; Chron. Lond. 85.
[5] Ann. Ric.; and Chron. Lond., sup. [6] Créton; Träison.
[7] Foss, IV. 148. Edmund Stafford, Bishop of Exeter, had succeeded Arundel as Chancellor 23 November, 1396. Id. 7; Foed. VIII. 840.

CHAPTER XXVI

Richard II (*continued*)

A. D. 1399

State of public feeling in England.—Pressure put on Richard.—He abdicates.—Abdication accepted by Parliament, and confirmed by vote of deposition.—Henry of Lancaster claims the throne, is accepted and installed.—End of Richard.—Review of the reign.—Art and architecture.—Letters.—The Language.—Wycliffite Bible.—Trevisa.—Chaucer.—Gower.—Finance of the reign.

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Opinion in England.

A fair idea of the divided state of English opinion at this juncture may be gathered from the song of "Richard the Redeless", the last utterance of William Langlands,[1] the author of "Piers Plowman". He tells us that he had rejoiced at the return of Lancaster, to claim his own, and to "reffourme myssrule". But now "amid sore . . . sawis[2] of bothe two sidis", the poet hears disturbing rumours of "selcouthe thingis", and "drede coming after". He thinks it pity that Richard should not be allowed some opportunity of repentance. Accordingly, he sits down to indite a friendly lecture to the King. At the first he shows every disposition to make allowances for Richard, and to exonerate him at the expense of his advisers. But as he goes on, rehearsing the King's offence against the nation, a sterner tone seems to come over him. Unfortunately the solitary manuscript of the poem is defective at the end, so that the writer's final conclusion is lost. He dwells upon the extravagance of the King's Household; he deplores the deaths of Gloucester 'The Swan'; and of Arundel 'The Horse'; and the imprison-

[1] Printed by Mr. Wright, Pol. Poems, I. 368–416, and Camden Soc. 1838; also printed by Mr. Skeat with the *C* text of Piers. The song was written while Richard was in captivity but before he was deposed.

[2] Saws, Contentions.

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ment of Warwick 'The Bear'; he regards these three as the truest friends the King had. But the great complaint to which he comes back again and again is the cruel 'severance' made between different classes of the community by the distribution of badges and liveries; and the organized licence of the 'Fellowship' of the White Hart. The gross bad faith which made the situation an impossible one he does not seem to notice. The song at any rate proves that English loyalty was struggling with the conviction that the deposition of Richard II was a necessity. It was to overcome this natural reluctance of loyal hearts, and also to get rid of the claims of the young Mortimer, that the story was invented or revived that Edmund Crouchback was really the elder brother of Edward I, and that the House of Lancaster was in fact the true royal line.[1] The old doubts as to the validity of the marriage of Richard's parents were also naturally revived.[2]

Richard had agreed to come to London in order to be confronted with Parliament. But it would have been very dangerous to produce in public a man capable of such sudden and effective action. A bold appeal to the rights of a crowned anointed King might have turned the tables in a moment, and captured the nation as he had captured it in 1389. Accordingly, pressure was put upon him to make him resign before Parliament met.[3] What previous efforts in the same direction may have been made, we know not, but on the 29th September, at 9 o'clock in the morning, a representative deputation, which included Richard le Scrope, Archbishop of York,[4] John Trevenant, Bishop of

[1] See Hardyng, 353, and Usk, 29. The latter was employed to get up the case, but admits that he could make nothing of it. According to the Eulogium, III. 369, the question had been raised in Parliament in 1394 by John of Gaunt. So too Hardyng, 354, but without date.

[2] See Froissart, III. 354.

[3] See the declaration of the Percys preserved by one manuscript of Hardyng, 352 (ed. Ellis). The visit of Adam of Usk to the King on the 21st September was probably connected with these attempts, p. 29. He found Richard in such a wild state that he came away deeply moved. His account of Richard's querulous maunderings corresponds exactly with that given by Créton.

[4] Bishop of Lichfield, 1386; translated to York, 1398; Reg. Sacr.

Hereford,[1] the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, with barons, judges, doctors of law and notaries public, waited on Richard in the Tower, with a ready drawn deed of resignation for his signature. According to the official report laid before Parliament, Richard did not repudiate his promise. But he demanded a personal interview with the Duke and the Archbishop of Canterbury; in the meantime he asked to have a copy of the deed left with him for his consideration. Henry naturally shrank from the painful ordeal of facing his captive—with all that the interview might entail. But as Richard remained firm he submitted to come, and in the course of the afternoon presented himself with the Archbishop and the deputation. We are told that Richard had a few words apart with the two, and that then, turning cheerfully towards the general circle,[2] he expressed his readiness to sign, and at once proceeded to do so. He did the thing handsomely; insisted upon reading out the contents of the parchment with his own mouth; signed with his own hand; expressed a personal wish that Henry might be his successor; and placed his signet ring upon his finger.

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The report, as a purely one-sided account, is open to all suspicion. But there is a *naïf* simplicity about it that inspires confidence. Taking it as we find it, with the evidence that we have had as to Richard's behaviour and frame of mind, if he signed cheerfully is it possible to doubt that he had received from Henry and Arundel personal confirmations of the pledge of safety, on which his promise of abdication had originally been based?

By the deed Richard absolved his subjects from all "ligeance and obeisance"; renounced in the most explicit terms all "state of Kyng and of Lordschipe", with "all the Dignete and worschipe that 'longed therto", saving only the rights of his successors; acknowledged that he was, and had been, "nought wurth" to govern; and declared

[1] Consecrated 1389; Id.

[2] "Hilari vultu hinc inde inter eos exhibito, prout circumstantibus videbatur;" Rot. Parlt. III. 416.

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that he was ' not unworthy ' to be deposed for his notorious demerits. To complete the thing he appointed the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Hereford his proctors to lay his abdication before the Estates.[1]

Nothing could be more explicit in the way of abdication. But Henry's advisers thought that an abdication might be questioned on the ground of coercion, and that to make assurance doubly sure it should be fortified by deposition. Accordingly elaborate articles of impeachment of Richard of Bordeaux, with a statement of the claims of Henry of Lancaster, had been elaborated by a committee of bishops and doctors, armed with the deed of resignation. This double procedure had been suggested by the Duke of York, " who on this one occasion comes forward as a politician ".[2] To meet an objection raised by the Archbishop that the Parliament would be dissolved by the vacation of the throne,[3] writs were prepared to be issued after the deposition summoning another Parliament to meet in six days' time. But as it would be impossible to hold elections within that time, it was arranged that each sitting member should name himself as his proctor for the coming session.[4]

Parliament.

On Tuesday 30th September Parliament met at Westminster. All Richard's friends had been duly summoned, and apparently were present.[5] A dense crowd filled the lower part of the great Hall. The throne was draped but vacant. Henry took the seat formerly occupied by his father, next to that of the Bishop of Carlisle.[6] After an opening sermon by Arundel, on the rather singular theme of Jacob and Esau, Richard's proctors produced the deed of resignation, which was read aloud both in English and

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 416, 417. For the Latin text, Ann. Ric. 252 ; Decem Script. 2744 ; and Mon. Evesh. 157.

[2] Bp. Stubbs, Const. Hist. II. 523 ; Usk, 29. The latter served on the committee.

[3] Rot. Parlt. 415. Arundel's theory does not hold good at the present day.

[4] Bp. Stubbs, sup. ; citing Lords' Report, IV. 768.

[5] So Créton, 385. He had already gone back to Paris, but had his account of the Parliament from a French priest who had come to England with Hereford. He names Surrey, Exeter, Salisbury, and ' the Marquis,' Dorset, as present.

[6] So Eulog. III. 383.

Latin. By whom the question whether the abdication should be accepted or not was put, is not stated. But in the voting Archbishop Arundel, as Premier Peer, would be the first man to whom the question "Aye" or "No" would in the regular course of things be first addressed, and he at once led the way by declaring for acceptance. All the rest having followed suit, without a dissentient voice,[1] he went on to move for the production of certain "Articles of Defauts", that the grounds on which Richard had admitted himself to be worthy of deposition might be known and published. The coronation oath was first recited by way of text; thirty-three counts of accusation then followed, in which all the wrong-doings of the reign were "circumstantially recounted". The first three deal with the resistance to the Parliamentary Commission of 1386; and the Nottingham questions and the King's appeal to arms through the instrumentality of the Duke of Ireland in 1387. The story then moves to the events of 1397, the murder of Gloucester, the execution of Arundel, the banishment of Warwick and Cobham, after formal pardons, and years of friendly intercourse. The breaches of faith connected with the banishments of Hereford and Archbishop Arundel are likewise specified. The general charges include both the older grievances, such as forced loans, Purveyance, and the interference with the course of justice, as well as the recent violent infractions of the constitution. Among these are the tampering with the elections; the new oaths imposed upon the sheriffs; the fines upon the seventeen counties; the delegation of the powers of Parliament to the Committee; the interpolation of more extensive words in the record of their appointment; and the claims openly advanced by the King to arbitrary and unlimited authority.[2]

The long indictment having been read, all the Estates,

[1] "Status (Estates) iidem et populus . . . cessionem singuli singillatim . . . concorditer admiserunt;" Rot. Parlt. sup. So too Créton, 387, 388.

[2] Rot. Parlt. III. 417–422; Decem Script. 2746–2756; Ann. Ric. 259–277, &c. For a summary see Bp. Stubbs, II. 530.

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challenged individually and collectively, held that they formed a sufficient ground for deposing the King, regard being had to his own previous confession of 'insufficiency'.[1] Not a voice was raised by any one of the old White Harts on Richard's behalf.[2] To speak out under such circumstances required more moral courage than the age could boast of. A representative commission of six Members of Parliament with William Thirning, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas,[3] was then appointed to pronounce the decision of Parliament, and to notify it to Richard with a renunciation of fealty and homage. Bishop Trevor of St. Asaph as the head of the commission read the 'definitive' sentence, pronouncing Richard to be 'useless, unfit, altogether insufficient and unworthy', and therefore deposing him from all royal dignity and honour.

Lancaster claims the Crown,

The throne thus being vacant, Lancaster rose in his place, crossed himself on the forehead and breast, and read out the following words, "In the name of Fader Son and Holy Goste I Henry of Lancastre chalenge this Reiaume of Inglond and the corone with alle the membris and the appurtenaunces ther to als I that am descendit be ryht lyne of the blode comyng fro the goode Lorde Kyng Henry the thyrd and thorghe that ryht that God of his grace hath sent me with the helpe of my Kyn and of my frendes to recovere it the which Roiaume was in poynt to ben undon for defaute of governaunce and undoing of the gode lawes."[4] In these carefully worded sentences Henry insinuates rather than asserts three claims; descent from Edmund Crouchback; conquest; and Parliamentary election. The suggestion of any right through Edmund of Lancaster was "a mere fabrication . . . unworthy of a King". Nevertheless Henry came to the throne as the political heir of the

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 422, &c.

[2] "Sans contredire;" Créton, 390. The speech attributed by the author of the Träison to the Bishop of Carlisle is quite unsupported. It is given as delivered on the morrow, when there was no sitting.

[3] Usk, 31.

[4] Rot. Parlt. 422; Ann. Ric. 278–281; Mon. Evesh. 206–209; Decem Script. 2757. The orthography of Henry's claim differs in each version. See also a fifth text, closely agreeing with the rest; Wyntoun, II. 386.

House of Lancaster; as the exponent of the principles "for which Thomas of Lancaster was believed to have contended". The accession of Henry IV made a Parliamentary title "indispensable to royalty" for all time to come; "Richard II fell a victim to the theory, on which he had tried to act, of the supremacy of prerogative".[1] CHAP. XXVI 1399

Once more the sense of the assembly was taken, and once more all gave their assent. Henry exhibited Richard's signet ring; Arundel took him by the right hand, and led him to the throne; Henry knelt for a few moments in prayer, and then took his seat, the two Archbishops enthroning him.[2] Arundel then delivered another short 'collation' to congratulate the nation on its deliverance from 'government by boys and widows'.[3] The text was taken from the first Book of Samuel, "*Vir dominabitur populo*;" or in our version, "Behold the man . . . this same shall reign over my people."[4] But the real theme of the discourse came from the First Epistle to the Corinthians, "When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things."[5] Henry was certainly cast in a more manly mould than Richard, but in point of age, he was only eight months his senior. Once more Henry rose to return thanks: "Syres I thank God and 3ou espirituelx and temporelx and alle the estates of the lond, and y do 3ou to wyte that it ys nought my will that no man thynk that by wey of conquest y wolde desherit any man of his heritage fraunchis or other ry3thes that hem ought to have, ne put hym out of that he hath and hath had be the gode lawes and custumes of this reiaume, except hem that hau ben ageyn the gode purpos and the commune profyte of the reiaulme."[6] is accepted and enthroned.

[1] Bp. Stubbs, II. 533. Thirning was understood to have insisted on the parliamentary title being clearly indicated. Henry was inclined to rely on conquest; Ann. Ric. 282. [2] Rot. Parlt. III., &c.; Créton, 392.

[3] "Par Enfants et conseil des Vefves;" Rot. Parlt. 415.

[4] 1 Sam. ix. 17.

[5] 1 Cor. xiii. 11. The sermon is given, Rot. Parlt. 423; Mon. Evesh. 210.

[6] See the four texts: Rot. Parlt. 423; Ann. Ric. 282; Mon. Evesh. 212;

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Richard having ceased to be King all authority derived from him was at an end. The appointment therefore of officers to carry on the public service had become an immediate necessity. Henry's second son Thomas received the family office of Lord High Steward; Northumberland became Constable, and Westmorland Earl Marshal. Richard Clifford was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal, while John Norbury was put in charge of the Treasury, and John of Scarle confirmed as Chancellor. The Justices and other officers of the law were re-appointed without a change. All did homage and took the oaths.[1] The issue of writs for another Parliament to meet on the 6th October was announced. As the shortness of the interval made the reappearance of the same representatives necessary, care was taken to explain that the King had no intention of abridging his subjects' rights, and that the time had only been shortened to save trouble and expense. Henry then rose, and withdrew to hold a state banquet in the White Hall.[2]

One further proceeding, and that a purely formal one, remained to complete the process of Richard's deposition, namely, notice of the fact to himself. On the morrow a deputation waited on him in the Tower, and Chief Justice Thirning, as spokesman of the party, conveyed the intimation in language as simple and inoffensive as was consistent with declaring the absolute rejection of all "feyth and obeissaunce" to him as King. Richard answered meekly that he looked for none, adding however "that he hoped that hys cosyn wolde be good lord to hym".[3] In the course of some conversation that ensued Richard maintained that the spiritual authority imparted to him by his hallowing was indelible, and could not be renounced by him, a doctrine

Decem Script. 2759. I have taken the text of the Rolls and the spelling of the Annales Ricardi. Wyntoun again supplies a fifth text closely agreeing with the official one; II. 387.

[1] Foed. VIII. 89, 90; Créton, 393, and the MS. printed by Mr. Webb, 275; Foss, IV. 7, 127.

[2] Rot. Parlt. III. and Ann. Ric., sup.; Mon. Evesh. 209–212.

[3] Rot. Parlt. 424; Ann. Ric. 284; Mon. Evesh. 214; Decem Script. 2760.

emphatically rejected by the Chief Justice. Dropping the argument with an effort at cheerfulness Richard ended by saying that he hoped that at any rate a liberal maintenance would be provided for him.[1] CHAP. XXVI 1399

Richard was rejected because he was "insupportable". No sovereign was ever more entirely the author of his own ruin.[2] Bolingbroke was taken, not because he was wished for or very popular, but because he was the only man who could rid the country of King Richard.[3]

"Kynge Henrye was admitte
Unto the croune of Englande, that did amounte
Not for desert nor yet for any witte,
Or might of hym selfe in otherwyse yet,
But onely for the castigacion
Of Kyng Richardes wicked perversation.
Of whiche the realme then yrked everychone."[4]

We may follow the dethroned monarch to his dismal end. On the ensuing 23rd of October, in a secret sitting of the House of Lords, held during the first Parliament of the reign of King Henry IV, it was resolved on the motion of Northumberland that for the safety of the King and realm the 'King that was' should be condemned to secret imprisonment for the term of his natural life, Henry being desirous that in any case his life should be spared. His end.

Two days later Richard was taken from the Tower by night, and sent down to an undisclosed place of confinement in the country. It had been specially provided that none of his old 'familiars' should be allowed to hold any intercourse with him.[5] Richard remained out of sight and mind till after the unsuccessful rising of his Appellants in January 1400. Their failure sealed his doom. At a Privy Council held about the 8th February a Minute was adopted recommending to the King that Richard, if alive as was supposed, should be placed in safe-keeping; if dead, then that he should be shown openly to the people, that they

[1] "Vultum ostendit hilarem;" Ann. Rich. 286 (not in the other reports).
[2] Oman, Pol. Hist. IV. 151.
[3] See Bp. Stubbs, II. 533.
[4] Hardyng, 409.
[5] Lancaster and York, I. 9, 10.

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might be certified of the fact. The murderous suggestion was strictly attended to. By the 14th February Richard was no more; "pyned to death" or "forhungered"—as all England understood—that is to say done to death by starvation and petty torture. The corpse was brought from Pontefract to London; lay for two days in state in St. Paul's; and was then sent to rest with the Friars Preachers at King's Langley, pending the final entombment in Westminster Abbey.[1] The marble tomb itself, with effigies in copper of himself and Anne had been executed and paid for in July 1397.[2]

Richard's character has been too fully illustrated to need further delineation. His portrait in Westminster Abbey—our oldest national portrait—agrees with the descriptions of the chroniclers in giving him a round, good-looking, beardless face, with a high complexion, golden locks, and a shy girlish and rather interesting expression. His speech was said to be hasty and stuttering.[3] The portrait may have been taken when the King was fifteen to twenty years old, say 1382–1387. The effigy on the tomb, executed ten years later, should present a likeness, having been executed under the King's own eye; it gives him a small forked beard, but the expression is much less pleasing, and the forehead very weak.

Richard had probably more feeling for art and letters than any of his predecessors since Henry III. The specifications for his tomb, and for raising the walls of Westminster Hall appear to have passed under his own eye.[4] In the latter years of the reign we find Thomas Prince of Littlington established at court as *Pictor Regis*, and receiving large sums for his works.[5] To his pencil we may be indebted for the portrait of the King. Chaucer was patronized by him, and at his friendly suggestion wrote his "*Confessio*".

[1] Id. 19–23. [2] Devon, Issues, 263, 264.

[3] "Vernula quam facies fulvis redimita capillis;" Pol. Poems, I. 285, A.D. 1393. "Pulcher es homo;" Eulog. III. 382; "Crines glauci, facies alba, rotunda, et faeminea . . . lingua brevis et balbutiens;" Mon. Ev. 169.

[4] Foed. VIII. 794–797.

[5] e.g. £26 13*s*. 4*d*., and again £30; Issue Roll, Mic., 21 Rich.

By the end of the fourteenth century architecture in England had settled down to the native Perpendicular. In Scotland the connexion with France had introduced something of the Flamboyant style. To Richard himself credit appears to be due for the remodelling of Westminster Hall, with its grand roof, as already mentioned. Among the other monuments to be connected with the reign are the magnificent choir and Lady Chapel of York Minster, begun in 1360, but not ended till 1405; and the upper part of the western towers of Lincoln Cathedral. At Exeter the rich screen or lower part of the west front, and the east window of the choir, are ascribed to Bishop Brantingham (1370–1394); the grand cloisters at Gloucester, begun after 1351, and not ended till 1412, must owe something to our period. At Worcester the vaulting of the nave was undertaken by Bishop Wakefield in 1377; while the transformation of the western bays of Winchester Cathedral from Norman to Perpendicular, carried on by William of Wykeham, should likewise be attributed to this reign, as at the Bishop's death in 1404 the work on the south side was nearly completed, and that on the north side begun.[1] But his best remembered legacies to futurity were his foundations of New College, Oxford, and the affiliated "Seinte Marie College" of Winchester, both of which fall wholly within the reign.

New College was the only addition to Oxford of the period; Cambridge was allowed to rest on the manifold enrichments of the previous reign. Richard's licence for the foundation of "Seinte Marie College of Wynchestre in Oxenford" bears date the 30th June 1379, the establishment in contemplation being for a Warden and seventy poor scholars, clerks, students in Theology, Canon or Civil Law. In April 1386 they took possession of the building in solemn procession. For Winchester College, the first of England's Public Schools, to which she owes so much, Wykeham had prepared a charter as early as 1382; the foundation was again for a Warden and seventy scholars. The buildings were begun in March 1387, the year after the opening of the

[1] See Mr. R. J. King's Handbook to the Cathedrals of England.

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Oxford College, and just six years later, in March 1393, the Winchester School made its start in life.[1]

In the history of the English language and English letters the reign of the second Richard marks a great epoch. Within that period English finally became the language of Court and Parliament, though the debates in the latter were still reported in French, and the Statutes drawn up in Latin. Then modern English prose makes its start with Wycliffe, the Wycliffite Bible, and, we may add, that zealous translator John of Trevisa; while modern English verse, of course, opens with Chaucer and Gower.

Wycliffe belonged to a good Yorkshire family, the Wycliffes of Wycliffe, a place on the Tees near Old Richmond.[2] He was probably born about the year 1320; but the date cannot be fixed.[3] He was sent to Oxford, probably to Balliol, the Yorkshire foundation, with which his family was connected.[4] In 1360 he appears as Master of Balliol.[5] In 1361 Wycliffe resigned the Mastership of Balliol to take a college living, Fylingham in Lincolnshire;[6] but he kept up his connexion with Oxford, renting rooms at Queen's College (1363–1380). On the 9th December 1365 Archbishop Islip appointed him Warden of his new foundation of Canterbury Hall, *vice* Wodehall superseded.[7] Islip died in April 1366, and the appointment of Wycliffe to Canterbury Hall was at once challenged by Wodehall, as contrary to the founder's own statutes; Archbishop Langham decided against Wycliffe. Wycliffe appealed to the Pope, and he ultimately confirmed Langham's decision (1370).[8] In 1374 Wycliffe was appointed Rector of Lutterworth,[9] where his chair is preserved. His appearances in public have been already noticed; driven from

[1] Louth, Life of Wykeham, 166, 175.
[2] Lechler, Wiklif, I. 262.
[3] Id. 269; Shirley, Fasc. Ziz. xii.
[4] Shirley, sup.
[5] Riley, Hist. MSS. Com. 1874; Lorimer.
[6] Shirley, xix.
[7] Id. 515, 517; Lewis, Wiklif, 290; Chron. Angliae, 115.
[8] Shirley, 516; Lechler, I. 294, 310. Wycliffe must be distinguished from his namesake and contemporary John Wycliffe, Fellow of Merton and Vicar of Mayfield and Horsted Keynes, who died in 1388, one year before the reformer.
[9] Lechler, I. 366.

Oxford he finally retired to Lutterworth in 1382, and there he died 31 December 1384.[1] His erudition, his logic and scholastic subtlety "may be due to Oxford; but the vigour and energy of his genius, his perspicacity, the force of his language, his mastery over the vernacular, . . . these were his own, to be learned in no school, to be attained by none of the ordinary courses of study".[2] The following extracts from "Thirty-seven Conclusions", evidently an early emanation from Wycliffe's pen before his doctrinal views had fully developed, perhaps 1377–1378,[3] are interesting for the language, and as illustrating the Reformer's attitude towards the Papacy and the spiritual authority of bishops, and his doctrine of Dominion as founded on grace.

Popes and Bishops.

"No power is but of God neithir the pope hath power a3ens the truthe of holi scripture neither mai lefulli do ony thing a3ens edificacioun other profyt of holi chirche. The lawis of the pope ben gode, and owen to be taken of feithful men oonli in as moche as tho ben foundid expresli or opinli in holi scripture or in quite resoun that mai not be distried or in as moche as tho ben maad esi to understonde holi scripture and to kepe Goddis heestis.

Christene men ben not holden for to bileve that the bisshop of rome that lyvith now in deadli lif othir whatevere deadli bishop hath so greet power in the gouvernaunce of the holi chirche hou greet power Petir eithir Paul had grauntid of God."[4]

But Wycliffe is not less severe on the frivolities of society than on delinquent popes and bishops.

Domestic chaplains.

"Whanne summe lordis wolden presente a goode man and able for love of God and cristene soulis, than summe ladies ben menys to (manage to) have a daunsere, a trippere on tapitis (carpets), or huntere or haukere, or a wilde pleiere of someres gamenes, for flaterynge and 3iftis, goynge bitwixe."[5]

[1] Id. 718.
[2] Milman, VI. 103.
[3] The Pope is spoken of as living at Rome.
[4] Ecclesiae Regimen, J. Forshall, 1851; reprinted H. F. B. Compston, Eng. Hist. Rev. XXVI. 744.
[5] English Works 246.

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The amount of collaboration given by Wycliffe to the translation of the Scriptures is uncertain. The translation of the Bible by Nicholas of Hereford was cut short in 1382 as we have seen. John Purvey's work, in better style, begun before 1387, was the first complete English rendering of the whole Bible. But before his time many translations of isolated books of the Old and New Testaments were in circulation, but chiefly in nunneries and houses of religion. It is worthy of note that Purvey was inhibited from preaching, but not from translating, the bishops being more jealous of the pulpit than of the dissemination of the Scriptures in the native tongue.[1]

The following extract may serve as a sample of the style of Purvey's Bible.

"Blisful the man that went not awei in the counseil of the unpitous, and in the wei of sinful stod not . . . He shal ben as a tree that is plaintid biside the doun reunyngis of watris, that his fruit shal ȝive in his time."[2]

John of Trevisa deserves notice for having given us the first piece of historical writing penned in the vernacular since the close of the Peterborough A.-S. Chronicle (E) in 1154. We also owe to him an interesting statement as to the resumption of teaching in English in the grammar schools, where before his time French had ruled. Till then "children in scoles aȝenes the usage and maner of alle other naciouns beth compelled for to leve her owne language and for to construe her lessouns a Frenshe". Gentlemen's sons were taught to speak French from the time that they "were rokked in her cradle", and even "uplondish men" would affect gentility by speaking French.[3]

Born in 1326 at Crocadon in Cornwall, Trevisa went to Oxford; became a Fellow of Exeter College; and afterwards of Queen's, from which for some reason or another he was expelled. He then obtained a living from Thomas fifth Lord Berkeley, and spent the rest of his life translating

[1] See A. P. Whitney's article, Camb. Hist. of Literature, II. 60.

[2] Psalms i. 1; ed. Forshall and Madden.

[3] Higden, Polychronicon, as given from the Harleian MS. by Craik, Literature, I. 110.

books into English for him as his chaplain. Of these only the translation of the Polychronicon has found an editor. The work was ended, as he tells us, on Thursday 18 April 1387.[1]

Geoffrey Chaucer, son of a London vintner, lived in high circles from an early age. He appears to have been a page in the household of Lionel of Clarence, or rather in that of his wife Elisabeth de Burgh, in the year 1357. That would suggest that he may have been born about the year 1340 or somewhat later. He served in the expedition of 1359; and was taken prisoner by the French, but promptly ransomed by the King. In 1367 he was a yeoman of the King's Chamber, and had a good service pension of twenty marks a year, besides his ordinary fees and allowances. In 1369 he was again serving in the war. About that time he further appears as married to one Philippa Roet, a lady attached to the household of John of Gaunt, and presumably sister to Katherine Roet, otherwise Swynford, the Duke's mistress and ultimately his third wife. To this period belongs the publication of Chaucer's earliest work, the Boke of the Duchesse, an elegy on the death of John's first wife Blanche of Lancaster, who died in the summer of 1369. In December 1372 Chaucer left England on a mission to Genoa, to negotiate for closer commercial relations with England. It would seem that he went on to Florence.[2] The statement in the Prologue to the Clerk of Oxenford's Tale that he, the Clerk, "learned" the tale of Griselda from "a worthy clerk at Padua, Franceis Petrack, the laureate poete", raises a strong suggestion that the man who learned the tale was Chaucer himself. Petrarch at the time was living at Argua near Padua.[3] In 1374 Chaucer was appointed Controller of the Customs on wool and leather in the Port of London, with charge of the "coket" seal.[4] But the duties of this office were not held to be incompatible with secret missions at home and abroad. In 1379 he was

[1] See the article in the National Dictionary.

[2] So Sir H. Nicolas.

[3] See Skeat's Introduction, I. 21, 22.

[4] The Custom House seal which stamped the receipts for duty paid, and cleared the goods.

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sent a second time to Italy, on a mission to Bernabo Visconti, to treat for a military alliance. On this occasion he named John Gower his attorney, to represent him in his absence. In 1385 Chaucer was appointed Controller of the *Parva Custuma* as well as of the wool and leather duties; in 1386 he was elected Knight of the Shire for Kent, but at the end of the year he was suddenly dismissed from both controllerships, apparently in consequence of investigations as to the state of the revenue instituted by the Lords Appellant.[1] For two and a half years Chaucer remained dependent on his pensions—two in number—but with the King's restoration to power in 1389 came Chaucer's re-appointment to offices of emolument. He was instituted Clerk of the King's works at Westminster, the Tower, and numerous other places, with liberty to appoint deputies to do the work for him. But work done by deputies seldom comes to much. In 1392 the poet was again dismissed from the King's service, but again found protection in the House of his earliest patrons, being appointed Forester to the Earl and Countess of March. With Royalty Geoffrey remained in favour to the last. In 1394 Richard gave him a further pension of £20 a year, while finally one of the very first acts of the reign of Henry IV was a grant of forty marks a year to Geoffrey Chaucer. On the 25th October 1400 the poet passed away, and was buried as a courtier and a distinguished man of letters in Westminster Abbey, in the nook ever since known as Poet's Corner.[2]

To criticize the works of Chaucer, unequalled for picturesqueness of description, for dramatic power the true precursor of Shakespeare, hardly falls within the scope of such a work as ours. Admirer and follower of Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, Chaucer's main inspiration is nevertheless drawn from France. French is the lightness of his touch, his "airy mockery", his "gaiety and good humour". And yet Chaucer is English to the core.[3] His

[1] Rot. Parlt. III. 250.

[2] See the article in the National Dictionary by Prof. J. W. Hales, and the documents there cited.

[3] J. R. Green.

verse brings us face to face with our ancestors as living men and women. We seem to see with our eyes the "perfight gentil Knight" in his simple serviceable attire.

"His hors was good, but he ne was naught gay."

A plain "fustyan gepoun"[1] is all that his hauberk discloses. He is "meek as is a mayde", and yet had fought for the Faith on every battle-field from Alexandria to "Lettowe" (Lithuania). Then we have his son, "the Yong Squyer"

"With lokkes crulle as they were laid in presse,

... wondurly delyver[2] and gret at strengthe". Next comes the Yeoman "in hood of grene" with his sheaf of arrows, and his "mighty bow". In orderly procession follow the dainty Abbess, with her neatly 'pinched wimple' and her gold brooch; her "smale houndes"; her sister-chaplain, and her three priests; the florid Benedictine Monk; "A manly man to ben an abbot able"; with his taste for field sports, his choice greyhounds, his 'supple boots', and his horse "in great estat"; the "Lymytour"[3] or begging friar, "wantoun and merye"; 'sweet in confession,' 'pleasant in absolution'; on the best of terms with all the franklins and their wives; the "Clerk of Oxenford" with much logic and a "thredbare courtepy";[4] the busy "Sergeant of Lawe", whose writing no man could "pynche at";[5] the comfortable Franklin in whose house "it snewed of mete and drynk"; the hardy Shipman, that "good felawe" who gave no quarter on the sea.[6] The Merchant in his "Flaundrish bever hat" who 'would for anything' that the sea were 'kept' between Orwell and Middleburgh; the extortionate Summoner; the brawny knavish Miller with his beard 'red as a fox and broad as a spade'; the Pardoner with his wallet "bret ful of pardouns" (Indulgences) "come from Rome all hoot"; the

[1] A short cassock or gown, Fr. "jupon". [2] Active.
[3] One who had a district 'limited' or assigned to him; "a district visitor."
[4] Short cloak. [5] Carp at, dispute.
[6] "If that he foughte and hadde the heigher hand
By water he sente them hoom to every land."
I. 94, ed. Skeat.

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wan Alchemist worn to death with his "slydyng science" and his "elvyssh craft"; the "Doctour of Phisik" well "groundud in astronomye"; the poor country Parson "riche of holy thought and work".

> "Cristes lore, and his apostles twelve
> He taught, and ferst he followed it himselve."

With the parson comes "his brothur" the Ploughman,

> "A trewe swynker and a good was hee
> Lyvynge in pees and parfight charitee." [1]

Equal to any Dutch painting for finish is the portrait of the carpenter's "Yonge Wife" of Oxford, "as eny wesil gent and small." Very attractive is she with her "milk-white barmcloth" [2] "ful of many a gore"; her white linen, "browdid of cole black silk;" her broad fillet; her tassled purse; her small "bent" eyebrows; her mouth, sweet

> "As hoord of apples layd in hay or heth.
> Wynsyng she was, as is a joly colt;
> Long as a mast, and upright as a bolt." [3]

Chaucer, like Froissart, views things from the pleasant standpoint of a man in comfortable circumstances living in good society, and not concerned to look too deeply below the surface. It will be noticed that he does not deal with any personage above the rank of the knight; he has a kind word for the ploughman, but does not entrust him with a tale. His subjects are all drawn from middle-class life, like those of modern days by "George Elliot".

Very different is the tone of John Gower the pious moralist. A Kentish man of good family and landed property, we have had the benefit of his evidence as to the deeds of the Wat Tyler rioters which he witnessed. The time of his birth is not known. Writing in the year 1400 he speaks of himself as old (*senex*) and blind. But only three years before he thought himself young enough to embark on matrimony for the first time, and that in spite of his own dictum that

[1] See the Prologue, vol. I; also II. 30.
[2] Apron (?).
[3] Milleres Tale, I. 194.

. . . "Love and lockes hoar
In chambre accorden never more."

He may therefore have been born between 1330 and 1340. He died in the autumn of 1408 and was buried in the north aisle of St. Mary Overies, now St. Saviour, Southwark, or Southwark Cathedral, where his tomb may be seen. Besides songs in French and Latin, and his "*Chronica Tripartita*", giving a sketch of the crisis of Richard's reign, he left three considerable works, the "*Speculum Meditantis*", in French, no longer extant; the "*Vox Clamantis*", in Latin;[1] and the "*Confessio Amantis*" in English.[2] The tone and purpose of all his writings is moral and didactic, and he was justly apostrophized by Chaucer as "O morall Gower".[3] He took a gloomy view of the state of society round him, and thought that the end of all things must be at hand. The titles of the *Speculum Meditantis* and the *Vox Clamantis* speak for themselves. The *Confessio Amantis* was written, as he tells us, at the suggestion of the King.

"As it befell upon a tide
. . . . . .
In themse, whan it was flowend
As I by bote came rowend
So as fortune her time fette
My lege lord perchaunce I mette
And so befell as I came nigh
Oute of my bote whan he me sigh
He bad me come into his barge,
And whan I was with him at large
Amonges other thinges said
He hath this charge upon me laid
And bad me do my besynesse
That to his highe worthynesse
Some newe thing I shulde boke
That he himself it mighte loke[4]
After the manner of my writing."[5]

Richard's suggestion that Gower should write some

[1] H. O. Coxe, Roxburgh Club, 1850.
[2] R. Pauli, 1857.
[3] Troylus and Cryseyde, III. 301 (Skeat).
[4] See, read it.
[5] Confessio Amantis, Prologus, I. 2 (the original version).

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"newe thing" clearly implies that he had seen some of his earlier writings, and perhaps wished for something in a lighter vein. But Gower moralizes to the last. In the *Confessio*, adopting the popular framework of an allegory, he introduces himself as a "woful" lover smitten by Cupid's darts, and driven to despair by the cruelty of his mistress. He appeals to Venus; she appears, and, having heard his prayer, appoints her priest Genius to 'oppose and hear' his confession. Genius then takes the poet the round of the seven deadly sins, and more to boot, taking his confessions with respect to each, one by one, but always in connexion with love. At the end of each confession the priest "opposes",[1] i. e. sets up, a weird tale to point the moral of the particular sin in question. Finally, having taken all his confessions, Genius shrives the poet, and Venus, having hung a pair of black beads round his neck, with the legend *pur reposer*, dismisses him in peace. The tales are taken from the Old Testament, Ovid, Boccacio, the *Gesta Romanorum*, and what not. The style is diffuse and the versification rough and unpolished, but the lines ripple on with a certain pleasant ease. Gower published two editions of the *Confessio*. In the first he is all loyalty to Richard; in the second, issued after the King's assumption of absolute authority, he turns against him, just as all the rest of England turned against him.[2] As a collection of romantic tales the *Confessio* suggests an imitation of Chaucer, *plus* the moralizing, but *minus* the poetic touch.

Approaching the close of the century, if we carry our retrospect back to its beginning, considerable progress may be noted in several directions. Edward II could still attempt to levy a tallage; under him, an English King could still appeal to the Pope for support against enemies, foreign and domestic, and receive at his hands grants taken from the pockets of the English clergy. Richard's

[1] The word in this sense still survives at the Record Office, where we have the "Foreign Opposer", or the official who sets up the "Foreign" accounts.

[2] For Gower's life see Paulis' Introduction to the *Confessio* and the article in the National Dictionary; for his works, Morley's English Writers; Warton, Hist. Engl. Poetry; Wright's Pol. Songs, &c.

Popes had to take their orders from him. In his reign the illegality of the imposition of the smallest indirect tax without the consent of Parliament is fully recognized. Under Edward II the Borough members of Parliament sat apart from the County representatives. The Chief Minister of the Crown is now no longer the King's Chancellor (*cancellarius Regis*) or private Secretary, but simply *the* Chancellor, the Chancellor of the Realm, with his seat established at Westminster; and therewith his Equitable Jurisdiction has come into existence; so also have the familiar institutions of Justices of the Peace and Quarter Sessions. In the time of the Second Edward we found the hereditary revenues of the Crown largely exceeding those derived from the grants of the people; under Richard II we find the proportion exactly inverted, and along with that a notable expansion in the Revenue becomes apparent. For the last years of Edward I we had an annual revenue of £95,000 a year, of which £19,000 in round numbers was derived from Customs.[1] Under Edward II the revenue sank to £85,000, of which less than £9,000 a year seems to have been derived from Customs. With Edward III the Revenue rises to £140,000, of which £48,000 is derived from Customs, while our Tables show that under Richard II the Revenue, for the twenty-one years of the reign for which the accounts are complete, maintained an average of nearly £140,000 a year, the return from the Customs, as the accounts stand, averaging £47,370, but there are considerable gaps in the Customs' returns, and so the average may have reached £49,000 or £50,000 a year.[2]

Under Edward III we saw how helpless the Commons were in the hands of the King, perpetually protesting, but always having to submit in the end. With Richard II they attained to a better position, able to assert themselves, but only on the tacit condition of keeping up the rates of duty;

[1] Dawn of the Constitution, 538.

[2] See Tables I and II. On Table I the reader will miss the heading of "Wardrobe Receipts" with which we have been troubled since the time of Henry III; the Wardrobe expenditure is now entirely supplied by drafts from the Treasury.

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while the underhand arrangements with the merchants came to an end. In the matter of Customs' duties Edward I had only the *Antiqua* or *Magna Custuma* and the *Parva* or *Nova Custuma* bringing in 6*s.* 8*d.* from natives and 10*s.* from foreigners on the sack of wool, and 1*s.* on the tun of wine and 3*d.* on the £1 of general goods; while with Edward III had come in the practice of granting surtaxes, that might bring the duty on wool up to 50*s.* the sack; and the duties on wine and general commodities up to 3*s.*; 4*d.* and 9*d.*, on the tun and £1 value of goods respectively.

Again with regard to the direct grants voted by Parliament we note that in the time of Edward I these were of varying amounts, Tenths, Sixteenths, Twentieths; while since 1332 a Fifteenth from Counties and a Tenth from boroughs, on a fixed assessment, established in that year, had been the standing grant, if grant there was to be, varied only in the case of the three poll-taxes. The assessment on which the clerical Tenths were levied went back to the year 1291, but the charge on the Northern Province had to be greatly reduced in consequence of the ravages of the Scots.

Richard's revenue exhibits some considerable fluctuations, but not any so great as those of the reign of Edward III. It is also satisfactory to be able to say that the fluctuations were due to the action rather of Parliament than of the King. The receipts in the main rose and fell according as Parliament opened or closed its hand, and the expenditure had to adjust itself to the receipts. The system of borrowing was not exploded, but it was kept within much more moderate bounds, and a much larger proportion of the borrowed money was repaid. It will be seen from our Table I that the largest receipts of the reign were those of the first three financial years; namely from Michaelmas 1377 to Michaelmas 1380; when the nation was still eager for the prosecution of the war, and three and a half Fifteenths were granted by Parliament, and two Tenths granted by Convocation, besides the two poll-taxes, and Customs at the highest rates. The aggregate receipts for those three years came to £602,000, making an average of more than

£200,000 a year. Of the receipts of single years the lowest were those of the 13th year (1389–1390), which only amounted to £81,000; on the whole we get an average of £139,000–£140,000 as already stated. The heavy receipts of the term Michaelmas 9 (1385) were the yield of the taxes voted for John of Gaunt's expedition to Spain; and those of Michaelmas 18 (1394), the product of the money raised for the King's first expedition to Ireland.

I. Taking the several branches of the Revenue separately, to begin with the Parliamentary grants, Richard had fourteen and a half Fifteenths and Tenths from Parliament; namely two in 1377; one and a half in 1380, 1385, 1388, 1393, and 1398; one in 1382, 1383, 1386, and 1395; and half-subsidies in 1384 and 1391.

From the Convocation of Canterbury he had Tenths in 1377, 1378, 1380,[1] 1383, 1384, 1386, 1388, 1394, 1395; half Tenths in 1382, 1391, 1393, and 1397, and one and a half in 1398,[3] thirteen in all.

From the Northern Province Richard had Tenths in 1378, 1379, 1394, 1395, and half-Tenths in 1382, 1383, 1384, 1388,[2] 1391, 1393, and 1397,[3] seven and a half in all. But the clerical grants are more difficult to verify than the lay grants.

From clergy and laity together he also had the two poll-taxes.

With respect to the yield of these imposts the Fifteenth and Tenth in 1332 had been assessed at £38,170, and at that sum we took them for the reign of Edward III. A special account on the Pell Receipt Roll, Mich. 10 Richard (1386) gives £14,000 as the yield of a half Subsidy and £29,000 as the product of a whole Subsidy. Against this we find that under Henry IV the Subsidy could still yield as much as £36,000.[4] We will therefore take a mean sum and assign £32,000 as the worth of a Fifteenth and Tenth

[1] 16 pence on the mark, IInd D. K. Report, Appendix II, 673, being another expression for a Tenth, and so given Chron. Angl.

[2] Wake, 319. [3] For the grants of 1397 and 1398 see Id. 324, 325.

[4] See Lancaster and York, I. 152.

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to Richard. Fourteen and a half times that amount will make £464,000.

For the Canterbury Tenths we will take £12,000 as an estimate, thirteen times that will make £156,000. For the York Tenths £1,200 may suffice, seven and a half such grants will give £9,000.

The first poll-tax yielded £22,000 like that of Edward III. The second poll-tax that led to the Peasant Revolt—and no wonder—brought in more than double that amount[1] from the laity alone; taking these two sums as given, and adding to the latter one say a third for the quota of the clergy, we get a sum of £81,000 in round numbers for the two poll-taxes together. The totals then will figure thus.

Lay Fifteenths and Tenths, gross total	.	.	£464,000
Canterbury Tenths	,,	,, . .	£156,000
York Tenths	,,	,, . .	£9,000
Poll taxes	,,	,, . .	£81,000
			£710,000

Divided by the twenty-one years of the reign for which the accounts are complete, we get an average of £33,800 a year as the yield of direct Parliamentary taxation.

II. The rates of the Customs' duties levied during the reign were as follows. At the King's accession in 1377 the existing rates were continued, namely from natives a 'subsidy' or surtax on wool of 43*s.* 4*d.* on the sack and 86*s.* 8*d.* on the last of leather, making with the hereditary *Antiqua Custuma* 50*s.* and 100*s.* respectively. Aliens with the extra *Parva Custuma* to which they were liable would have to pay 53*s.* 4*d.* and 106*s.* 8*d.* Then the 'subsidies' on general goods known as Tunnage and Poundage were also granted at the existing rates of 2*s.* on the tun of wine, and 6*d.* on the £1 value of general merchandise, making with the *Parva Custuma* and the primaeval 4*d.*, 3*s.* 4*d.* in

[1] The return cited by Mr. Powell, Rising, p. 5, gives £44,825 14*s.* 3*d.* as the total that reached the Treasury from the laity. "Lay Subsidies $\frac{3}{7}\frac{4}{8}\frac{2}{5}$ P. R. O. The Pell accounts for the year will be seen to be defective, so that we cannot tell what the revenue rose to.

the one case and 9*d.* in the other case. In 1386 these last dues were raised to 3*s.* and 12*d.*; in 1390 the Poundage was reduced to 6*d.* to be raised again to 12*d.* and at 3*s.* and 12*d.* Tunnage and Poundage remained to the end of the reign. With respect to wool and leather in 1378 extra surtaxes of 13*s.* 4*d.* on the sack and 26*s.* 8*d.* on the last were imposed on aliens, but only to be remitted next year; in 1390 the 'subsidies' were reduced to 33*s.* 4*d.* and 66*s.* 8*d.*, but only to be raised again next year to the old 43*s.* 4*d.* and 86*s.* 8*d.*, and at that they remained to the end of the reign. As for the returns, the figures of our Table II give the average yearly yield of the general Customs as £47,140 19*s.* 11*d.*; the lowest return for one year being £30,008 4*s.* 8*d.*, and the highest £69,856 12*s.* 7*d.* It will be seen that the Butlerage accounts for wine are very defective; the average of the seven years for which accounts are extant may be taken as £230 a year in round numbers. These are the gross totals entered, but it must be mentioned that in each year there is a deduction for Rhenish wine, from which it would seem that such wine was entitled to a rebate and came duty free. Taking the combined average totals of the Customs together we get a total in round numbers of £47,370 a year. If we compare the Parliamentary with the non-Parliamentary revenues of the Crown, coupling the £47,370 of the Customs with the £33,323 from direct taxation, we have the King dependent on Parliament for £80,893 out of a revenue of £140,000, leaving £59,107 as flowing in one way or another from the Crown or its prerogatives.

III. Turning to the receipts not derived from Parliamentary grants as illustrated by our Tables III and IV, it will be seen that the chief of these were the Old Crown Revenues, as we have termed them, that appear in the sheriffs' accounts and the Pipe Rolls; these might run from £25,000 to £32,000 a year, without Priories Alien and Vacant Sees.

Of the Foreign Receipts the large returns from the Hanaper in the 21st year were doubtless due to the

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numerous recognizances into which men were required to enter.

On the Issue side of the accounts the two great heads of expenditure were those of the royal Household and of naval and military expeditions, including fortifications. We have seen the sums drawn for John of Gaunt's expedition to Spain, and for Richard's first visit to Ireland. Notes taken from the Pell Issue Rolls for the 12th year (1388–1389) seem to show the King as content with £18,000 for his domestic expenditure, including £3,843 for Chamber or Privy Purse;[1] while in the 21st year (1397–1398) the records seem to show an expenditure of £40,000 for the Household, besides "Pensions and Gifts" (the fees of the White Harts) for perhaps £15,000 or £16,000 more. The reign was by way of being a peaceful one, but the outlay on garrisons and fortifications was great. We have seen the expenditure on Calais per Walworth and Philpot early in the reign.[2] In the twelfth year we seem to have the following items:

	£	s.	d.
Calais	25,650	12	0
Berwick	10,521	0	0
Carlisle	5,874	0	0
Roxburgh	300	0	0
Brest	8,299	13	4
Cherbourg	396	0	0
&c. &c.			
	63,094	14	6½

In the 21st year Calais takes £30,253, while Ireland, from being a source of income, draws £2,823; but the total under this head only comes to about £40,000. Civil Service including diplomacy might require from £7,000 to £14,000 in a year. In the 21st year £10,000 were spent on works at Westminster Hall and the Tower; another year shows less than £1,000 spent on building. Towards the close of the reign Richard started a menagerie of lions and leopards, ten in number, at the Tower, for the benefit of the Londoners. They might cost £236 16*s.* 0*d.* a year.

[1] Later, namely in the 13th year (1389–1390), £4,000 a year was assigned by writ to the Chamber, but considerably more was always drawn.

[2] Above.

No change was made in the currency during the reign. The pound of gold, coined into forty-five nobles worth 6*s.* 8*d.* each, is given as equal in value to fifteen pounds of silver.[1] In Henry II's time gold could be taken as only worth nine times its weight in silver.[2]

Police of the Sea.

In 1379 Richard, at the instance of the men of Scarborough and other northern ports, established a squadron of two ships, two barges and two balingers to keep the sea north of the Thames, and for their support obtained leave to charge 6*d.* a ton on all vessels sailing along the coast, except ships carrying wool to Calais; boats employed in the herring fishery to pay 6*d.* per ton a week; vessels carrying coals from Newcastle to pay 6*d.* a ton per quarter.[3]

A Puisne Justice of the Common Pleas appears to have received about £118 a year: the Chief Justice £153 6*s.* 8*d.* The Bishop of St. Davids when he took office as Treasurer on the 21st January 1398 was put down for the following appointments *per annum*:[4]

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Old 'fee' 100 marks	66	13	4
Novel increase	300	0	0
Good service pension (for life) . . .	66	13	4
	£433	6	8

Besides this he was entitled to receive £1 a day when in attendance on the King.

The Treasurer was second only to the Chancellor in official importance. The modest rate of his remuneration shows the grossness of such a grant as that of 2,000 marks a year (£1,333 6*s.* 8*d.*) to the youthful Marquis of Dorset. No salary is ever named for the Chancellor.[5] His hand must have been in every man's pocket.

By Anne of Bohemia Richard had no issue. Isabelle of

[1] Anderson, Hist. Commerce, I. 391.
[2] Pipe Roll, 5 Hen. II. 2.
[3] Foed. VII. 220.
[4] Issue Roll, Easter, 21.
[5] Under Henry III the Chancellor had 5*s.* a day, an allowance of bread and wine, one whole wax taper (*cereum*), and forty candle ends (*frusta candelarum*); Red Book Exchequer, III. 207 (H. Hall, Roll Series).

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France was still a child when he died. She remained in England for two years after his death. A marriage with the young Prince of Wales was suggested, but the French would not consent to it. On the 31st July 1401 she was delivered to the Count of Saint-Pol at Leulinghem, on the very spot where five years before she had been placed in Richard's hands. She was eventually married to Charles afterwards Duke of Orleans, and died in child-birth in 1411.[1]

[1] See Lancaster and York, I. 17, 39, 92, 128.

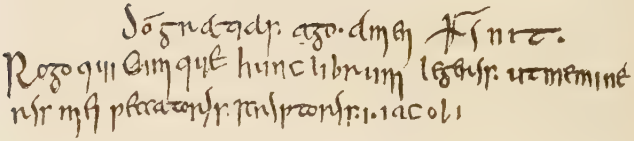

TABLE I

Revenue of Richard II

From the Pell and (so-called) Auditors' Receipt Rolls.

A.D.	Regnal Year.	Term.	Terms total. £	s.	d.	Years total. £	s.	d.
1377	1	Easter	15,367	19	11	(Half year only)		
—	—	Mich.	165,335	0	3	211,833	0	4
1378	—	Easter	46,498	0	1			
—	2	Mich.	66,151	10	1	136,514	15	6
1379	—	Easter	70,363	5	5			
—	3	Mich.	83,087	2	9	256,024	14	7
1380	—	Easter	172,937	11	10			
—	4	Mich.	(Wanting)			(Half year only)		
1381	—	Easter	61,876	10	3			
—	5	Mich.	62,836	8	2	90,951	1	0
1382	—	Easter	28,114	12	10			
—	6	Mich.	87,085	9	11	128,899	2	8
1383	—	Easter	41,813	12	9			
—	7	Mich.	84,917	9	10	149,439	2	1
1384	—	Easter	64,521	12	3			
—	8	Mich.	87,451	8	8	182,384	3	8
1385	—	Easter	94,932	15	0			
—	9	Mich.	127,515	5	0	190,800	16	8
1386	—	Easter	63,285	11	8			
—	10	Mich.	71,454	6	11	111,775	13	8
1387	—	Easter	40,321	6	9			
—	11	Mich.	57,535	5	5	142,020	19	10
1388	—	Easter	84,485	14	5			
—	12	Mich.	67,869	19	2	121,188	2	0
1389	—	Easter	53,318	2	10			
—	13	Mich.	53,466	2	11	81,634	7	1
1390	—	Easter	28,168	4	2			
—	14	Mich.	71,330	9	5	98,442	0	0
1391	—	Easter	27,111	10	7			
—	15	Mich.	54,530	9	9	104,923	15	11
1392	—	Easter	50,393	6	2			
—	16	Mich.	58,801	15	8	121,710	8	4
1393	—	Easter	62,908	12	8			
—	17	Mich.	75,296	6	1	114,589	1	1
1394	—	Easter	39,292	15	0			
—	18	Mich.	120,920	13	2	147,105	0	4
1395	—	Easter	26,184	7	2			
—	19	Mich.	64,664	16	9	122,047	2	0
1396	—	Easter	57,382	5	3			
—	20	Mich.	71,968	11	3	146,762	17	6
1397	—	Easter	74,794	6	3			
—	21	Mich.	69,529	1	4	124,532	2	0
1398	—	Easter	55,003	0	8			
—	22	Mich.	75,749	9	7	144,222	9	8
1399	—	Easter	68,473	0	1			

TABLE II

Customs of Richard II

(Financial Year, Michaelmas to Michaelmas)

	Customs (*Enrolled Customs' Accounts, Nos.* 13 *and* 14).			*Butlerage* (*Exchequer Accounts, Bundle* 80, *Nos.* 23, 25).			*Totals.*		
	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
Year 1, June 1377–Mich. 1378	30,008	4	8						
Year 2, 1378–9	42,806	8	0	191	10	0	42,997	18	0
Year 3, 1379–80	54,241	1	7	128	9	0	54,369	10	7
Year 4, 1380–1	49,923	13	3	104	9	0	50,028	2	3
Year 5, 1381–2	52,280	4	2	139	4	0	52,419	8	2
Year 6, 1382–3	36,863	2	0						
Year 7, 1383–4	69,856	12	7						
Year 8, 1384–5	43,242	12	0						
Year 9, 1385–6	39,890	12	4						
Year 10, 1386–7	58,844	8	5						
Year 11, 1387–8	45,873	17	8						
Year 12, 1388–9	46,434	19	3						
Year 13, 1389–90	54,940	2	0						
Year 14, 1390–1	39,948	17	11						
Year 15, 1391–2	51,169	0	7						
Year 16, 1392–3	61,202	3	6	349	10	8*	61,551	14	2
Year 17, 1393–4	53,923	13	7	349	10	8*	54,273	4	3
Year 18, 1394–5	52,804	19	9	349	10	8*	53,154	10	5
Year 19, 1395–6	49,642	7	4						
Year 20, 1396–7	35,676	9	10						
Year 21, 1397–8	44,832	3	1						
Year 22, 1398–9	33,696	5	2						
				Average for all the years			£47,140	19	11
				Average Butlerage			230	0	0
							£47,370	19	11

* Share of lump sum for three years.

TABLE III

ANALYSIS OF RECEIPT ROLLS, MICHAELMAS AND EASTER, 12 RICH. II, OCTOBER 1388–1389

	£	s.	d.
1. Old Crown Revenues: as per sheriff's accounts, including County, Borough, and Hundred farm rents; reliefs, wardships, forfeitures, and fines.	25,098	16	11½
2. Customs	42,692	5	4½
3. Vacant Sees and "Priories Alien" impounded by the Crown	2,799	18	4½
4. Clerical Tenths	7,071	15	4½
5. Lay Fifteenths and Tenths (on account of half subsidy)	17,479	2	11½
6. Loans (all repaid ultimately except £8 13*s.* 4*d.*)	13,167	12	9
7. Receipts of Hanaper (enrolment of deeds in Chancery, sale of writs, &c.)	1,728	5	7
8. Mint and Exchange	86	13	6
9. Advances repaid to Treasury	10,923	19	5½
10. Sundries	35	16	8
	£121,084	7	0

Total of year at foot of Rolls, £121,188 2*s.* 0*d.*

TABLE IV

ANALYSIS OF RECEIPT ROLLS, MICHAELMAS AND EASTER, 21 RICH. II, OCTOBER 1397–1398

		£	s.	d.
1. Old Crown Revenues as before (Fines £5,782 16*s.* 8*d.**)		31,952	3	6
2. Customs	(?)	67,788	6	11
3. Vacant Sees and "Priories Alien"		2,458	3	8
4. Clerical Tenths (arrears)		5,314	3	3
5. Lay Fifteenths and Tenths (arrears)		35	3	5½
6. Loans:				
Repaid ultimately	£2,879 12 10½			
Not repaid	4,835 0 0			
		7,714	12	10½
7. Hanaper		4,625	17	3½
8. Mint and Exchange		106	3	2
9. Advances repaid to Treasury		847	3	6½
10. Sundries		998	1	0
		£121,839	18	8

Total at foot of Rolls, £124,532 2*s.* 0*d.*

* Of this total only £981 3*s.* 0*d.* appears to represent fines lawfully exacted in due course; the balance represents arbitrary fines extorted either *coram concilio* or *per recognitionem in scaccario*, such as 2,000 marks from the men of Essex "gratanter concessae".

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— Simon Theobald, or Tybald, of Sudbury, translated from London, orders clergy to pay half Tenth to the Pope, ii. 40; on Advisory Committee, 56; apologizes for banishment of Bishop of Winchester, 63; crowns Richard II, 107, 108, 109; opens Parliament, 112; Chancellor, 133; opens Parliament, 138; accompanies Richard to interview rioters, 149; denounced by them, 150; resigns Great Seal, beheaded, 155.
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— Thomas FitzAlan of Arundel, translated from York, 312; crowns Queen Isabelle, 313; induces his brother to surrender on King's solemn pledge, 322; impeached, 327, 328; forbidden to speak, condemned and banished, 330; translated to St. Andrews, 332; meets Pope Boniface at Florence, 346, 347; returns to England with Bolingbroke, 351; has colloquy with Richard at Flint, 359; reinstated at Lambeth, again for a few days Chancellor, 360; obtains Richard's resignation in the Tower, 363.
— Roger Walden, Treasurer, 332; expelled, 360.
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— John Kirkby, in command at battle of Neville's Cross, 341.
— Thomas Appleby, on Parliamentary Committee, ii. 49; on Regency Committee, 114.
— Thomas Merkes, to Ireland with Richard II, ii. 348 and note; returns with him, 355.
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— John, London Free Fishmonger, accuses Chancellor de la Pole falsely, imprisoned, ii. 213.
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— Walter Reynolds, Bishop of Worcester, 30; dismissed, 44; reappointed as Keeper, 49; dismissed, 74.
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— Louis of Beaumont, consecrated, 88 and note; arrested by brigands, ib.; attends Lancastrian Parliament, 116; sent to prison, 138; joins Queen Isabelle, 156; attests coronation oath of Edward III, 184; dies, 239.
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— Adam of Orleton, supporter of Queen Isabelle; appointed by Pope in opposition to King; arranges escape of Roger Mortimer, 138, 139; arraigned of treason; his estates seized, 143; joins Queen Isabelle, 156; preaches on her behalf, ib. and 157, 158; takes the Great Seal from the King, 159; preaches against him, 161; again, 162; extorts his abdication, 164; appointed Treasurer by Edward III, 183, 184; on Regency Council, 185; translated to Worcester, 202.
— Louis Charlton, dies of Third Plague, 493.
— William Courtenay, manages Convocation, ii. 38; translated to London, 46.
— John Gilbert, translated from Bangor, ii. 46; explains state of affairs in Parliament, 186; envoy to France, obtains short truce, 222; Treasurer, 238; dismissed, 264.
— John Trevenant, waits on Richard in the Tower, ii. 362.
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— Humphrey Bohun (iii), slighted by Gaveston, 8; carries sceptre with cross at coronation of Edward II, 10; forces King to banish Gaveston, 14; on Committee of Ordainers, 29; publishes the amended scheme, 40; puts Gaveston to death, 46; comes in arms to Ware, 47; demanding confirmation of Ordinances, 48; reconciled to King, 51; at battle of Bannockburn, taken prisoner, 62, 71; liberated, 75; on Standing Council, 92; forbidden to attend meetings, 115; summoned to appear, ib. and 116; attends Lancastrian Parliament, ib. and 117; comes to London, 118; supporting Badlesmere, in revolt, 121, 124; killed at Boroughbridge, 126.
— John Bohun, son of preceding, at coronation of Edward III, 184; on Sluys expedition, 277.
— Humphrey Bohun (iv), brother of John, in naval action off Winchelsea, 365.
— Humphrey Bohun (v), nephew of preceding, being son of William Bohun, Earl of Northampton, sent to Calais, 495; lands with John of Gaunt, ii. 5.
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— Count of, William II of Avesnes, his second daughter Philippa engaged to Edward of Windsor, 154; brings her to England, 195.
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—William of Clinton, created, 251; Admiral and Warden of Cinque Ports, in command at Sluys, 276; on campaign of 1346, 319; in command of fleet, 324.
— Holland, John, younger son of Princess of Wales, above; created, ii. 257.

Imworth, John, Marshal of Marshalsea, torn from sanctuary and beheaded by rioters, ii. 156.
Inge, William, banished from Court, 15.
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— Duke of. *See* Robert, Earl of Oxford.
Isabel, Infanta of Spain, daughter of Pedro the Cruel, retires with him to Bayonne, 469; hostage there, 479; married to Earl of Cambridge, ii. 19; comes with him to England; dies 295, note.
Isabelle I of France, daughter of Philip IV, marries Edward II, 9; gives birth to a son, Edward of Windsor, 48; to France and back again with Edward, 50; implores King to have mercy, 119; refused admission to Leeds Castle, 120; sympathetic to the Opposition, 121; sent as envoy to Paris, 147; her relations with Roger Mortimer; refuses to come home, 151, 152, 153; engages her son Edward to Philippa of Hainault, 154; lands in the Orwell, 155; her progress, 156, 157; her expenditure, 178, 187; resolves on peace with Scotland, 195, 196; pleads for Mortimer, 207, 208; at liberty on reduced allowance, date of her death, 210, dines in hall with the King, 306.

Isabelle of Woodstock, eldest daughter of Edward III; sails to Flanders, 278; at wedding of Prince of Wales, 447.
— II of France, daughter of Charles VI, her marriage to Richard II, ii. 304-10; brought to England, 311; crowned, 313.

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James of Arragon, titular King of Majorca, with the English at Najera, 476; attacked by sickness, 479.
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— daughter of Edward III, betrothed to Frederic of Austria, sails to Antwerp, 259; betrothed to Pedro, eldest son of Alfonso X of Castile, dies on way out, 357, 359.
— of Penthièvre, claimant to Duchy of Brittany, married to Charles of Blois, 297; put off with a pension, 462.
Joan of Kent, daughter of Edmund, Earl of Kent, and relict of Thomas Holland (i), Earl of Kent, marries Prince of Wales, 446, 447; gives birth to second son, Richard of Bordeaux (Richard II), 471; sails to England with the Prince, ii. 10; mediates between Londoners and John of Gaunt, 65; Guardian of Richard II, 110; forbids bishops to meddle with Wycliffe, 118; accompanies Richard to interview rioters at Mile End, 153; retires with him to Blackfriars, 156; induces Richard and John of Gaunt to make friends, dies heartbroken at conduct of sons, 223.
João, Grand Master of Avis, elected King of Portugal, ii. 227; treaties with Richard and John of Gaunt, 230; marries Philippa of Lancaster, 268; joins John of Gaunt in campaign against Castile, 269.
John of Eltham, son of Edward II, created Earl of Cornwall, 203; in command at Halidon Hill, 230; marriage with a French lady suggested, 236; dies at Perth, 247.
John, Duke of Normandy, afterwards King of France, wages war against Hainault, 275; invades Brittany, captures Nantes and carries off Duke John of Montfort, 298; fails to succour Auberoche (Cantal), 316; recovers towns in Guienne and Angoulême; fails at Aiguillon, 321; fails to relieve Calais, 346; becomes King at death of Philip VI, 368. *See* France, Kings of.
— (Jean), Duke of Berri, younger son of King John, hostage for his father's ransom, 441; in command in Auvergne, ii. 1, 7; besieges Limoges, 9, 10; raises forces in Auvergne, 23; plenipotentiary for France, 209; wastes time and ruins expedition, 233, 234; plenipotentiary for France, 294; at ceremonial meetings between Richard and Charles VI, 308–10.
— of Gaunt, fourth born son of Edward III, in the naval action off Winchelsea, 365; on campaign of 1355, 387; again, with that of 1359, 434; married to Blanche of Lancaster, heiress of Henry of Grosmont, 446; created Duke of Lancaster, 453; joins campaign of Najera, 470; in command of van at the battle, 476; sent to Calais, 495; takes up defensive position at Chalk Hill, ravages Normandy, returns to England, ii. 6; sent to Aquitaine, 8 and note; fails to relieve Montpon, makes love to Infanta Costanza, 17; surrenders his office in Aquitaine to Captal de Buch and Thomas Felton; lays claim to Provence, 18; marries Infanta Costanza, and sails with

her to England, 19; surrenders Earldom of Richmond, 20; assumes style of Castile, in right of wife Costanza, 21; agrees to serve in Aquitaine, 26; reappointed King's Lieutenant, sails with England's last armament, 32; fruitless devastating march from Calais to Bordeaux, 33–5; cultivates relations with Portugal, 35; signs truce with Duke of Anjou and sails home, 42; entrusted with another command, unable to sail, 43; appointed plenipotentiary, ib.; only able to arrange a truce, 44; gives in to Papal tallage on clergy, 46; his relations with Katherine Swynford, 47, note; executor of Prince of Wales, 54; attempts to raise question of the Succession in Parliament, 55; as Prime Minister cancels the acts of Good Parliament, 59; recalls Alice Perrers, 60; escorts Wycliffe to St. Paul's, falls foul of Bishop Courtenay, 64; mobbed, escapes, 65; as Earl of Leicester holds Court of Claims for offices at coronation of Richard II, 106; carries sword *Curtana*, 107; vindicates his honour in Parliament, 113; in command of fruitless expedition to Brittany, 119–21; King's Lieutenant of Aquitaine, sent to the Border, 130; negotiates truce with the Scots, 138; so again, 177; retires into Scotland, entertained at Holyrood; brought back, quarrels with Percy, Earl of Northumberland, ib.; not allowed to quarter his men in London, 178; entertains Anne of Bohemia at Leeds Castle, 182; asks for money for an expedition to Portugal, 183; plenipotentiary to France, signs truce, 209, 210; invades Scotland; to Edinburgh and back, attends Parliament at Salisbury, 210, 211; on Parliamentary Committee, 212; repels charge of compassing King's death, 214; plenipotentiary to France, obtains a truce, 215; taxes Richard with sluggishness; escapes to Pontefract, 218; faces King at Richmond, denounces his conduct, makes friends at instance of Princess of Wales, 219; also makes friends with Earls of Salisbury, Oxford, and Nottingham, ib.; with army of 1385, 223, 224; obtains grant from Parliament for 'voyage' to Spain, 226, 227, 229; sails, 230; relieves Brest, 231; King's Lieutenant of Gascony, signs truce with France, 263 and note; returns to England, 267; marries daughter Philippa to João of Portugal, 268; overruns Galicia; futile campaign against Castile; makes peace on terms, renounces style of Castile, receives large subventions in money, marries daughter Katherine to Enrique, Heir of Castile, 269–71; created Duke of Aquitaine, 274; King's Lieutenant in Picardy, envoy to France, received in state by Charles VI, 285; again envoy, conferences at Leulinghem, 291; so again, truce only, 294; sent out to take possession of Aquitaine, 299; recalled, 307; marries Katherine Swynford, 307; with Richard at meetings with Charles VI, 307, 308; as High Steward presides at impeachment of Appellants of 1387, 328, 329; on Standing Committee of 1398, 335; dies, 345.

Juliers, William VII, Count of, married to Jeanne, younger sister of Queen Philippa, 252 and note; country raised to a Margraviate, serves campaign in Cambrésis, 264, 265; created Earl of Cambridge, 265; at siege of Tournay, 282.

— Duke of, son of preceding, subsidized, 494.

Katherine, daughter of John of Gaunt by Costanza, sails with him to Spain, 231; married

to Enrique, Prince of Asturias, 270, 271.
Keith, Robert, Marshal of Scotland, at Bannockburn, 63; in command of light cavalry, 68; disperses English archers, 70; killed at Neville's Cross, 343.
— William, appointed Governor of Berwick, 229; surrenders, attends Balliol's Parliament, 233.
Kent, Earls of:
— Thomas Holland (ii), son of Thomas Holland (i), by Joan of Kent, afterwards Princess of Wales, joins expedition of 1372, ii. 26; at first with the King during Wat Tyler riots, 152; slips away, 153; appointed to hold bloody assize in Kent, 173, 175; dies, 321.
— Thomas Holland (iii), son of preceding, supporting Richard, 321; leads Arundel, his uncle, to execution, 329; created Duke of Surrey, 331; on Standing Committee, 335; as Earl Marshal has charge of lists at Coventry, 340; King's Lieutenant of Ireland, sentover, 347; returns with Richard, 355; sent to negotiate with Bolingbroke, 356; imprisoned, 357.
—*See* also Edmund of Woodstock.
Kildare, Earl of, John Fitz Gerald, son of Thomas, Lord of Offaly, created, 98, note.
Knolles, Robert, Free Lance, at the "Battle of the Thirty", defeats French at Mauron, 370; supports Lancaster in Normandy, 402, 426; his operations, rents districts in Brittany from Edward, 431, 449; at battle of Cocherel, 461; operating in Querci, ii. 2, 3; and Poitou, 9; successful raid through North of France (1370), 10, 11; unjustly accused, made to pay for King's grace, 12; hangs hostages in return for hostages hung by Du Guesclin, 30, 31; with expedition to Brittany (1380), 137; with King during riots in London, 152; counsels mercy to rioters, and dismisses them, 159; receives Freedom of City, his house in Seething Lane, ib. note.
Knyvett, John, knight, on Regency Committee, ii. 110.

Labour questions, fourteenth century, ii. 142–4.
Lagny, Abbot of, Inquisitor in England, 35, 38.
Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, released, 23; holds Synod of Scottish Church for Bruce, 30; negotiates truce with England, 136.
Lancaster, Earls and Dukes of:
— Thomas of Lancaster, carries sword *Curtana* at coronation of Edward II, 10; supports the King, 13, 14; his connexions, character, and influence; hostile attitude towards the King, 22; refuses to attend Council, 25; on Committee of Ordainers, 29; succeeds to Earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury; homage for the same, 33; publishes amended Ordinances, 40; puts Gaveston to death, 46; comes in arms to Ware, 47; demanding confirmation of Ordinances, 48; reconciled to King, 51, 52; again in opposition, 74, 77, 78; appointed Chief Captain in the North, 79; Chief of the Council, 80; supreme, 81; his incapacity, 83; understanding with the Scots, 83, 84, 86; at war with Earl Warenne, 86; refuses to meet King except under safe-conduct; bars passage of King's troops, 86, 87; insists on full observance of Ordinances, 90; intransigent attitude, 91; pacification of Leek, 92; receives kiss of peace, 93; joins in siege of Berwick; his insidious counsels denounced, 108; holds private Parliaments of adherents, 116, 121; fails to support Opposition Barons, 121; signs alliance with the Scots, 124; takes to flight at Burton, 125; arrested at Boroughbridge; his trial and execution, 126, 127; posthumous honours, 128.

— Henry (i) of Lancaster ("Wryneck"), brother to preceding, admitted to the Earldom, 142; joins Queen Isabelle, 156; receives surrender of the King, takes him to Kenilworth, 158, 159; knights Edward III, 183, 184; on Regency Council, 185; on campaign against Scots, 190; in opposition to Isabelle and Mortimer, 204; invades Scotland, 227; dies, 320.
— Henry (ii) ("of Grosmont"), son of preceding, in command at Perth, 242; created Earl of Derby, 250; succeeds his father, 320; further successes in Guienne, ib.; so again, 337; returns to England, ib.; succours Edward besieging Calais, 346; in naval action off Winchelsea, 365; created Duke, burns town of Boulogne, and ravages Artois, 371; plenipotentiary to France, 383; on King's campaign of 1355, 387; on campaign in Normandy to succour King of Navarre, 401, 402 (1356); blockades Rennes in Brittany, obtains surrender of the place and then makes it over to Charles of Blois, 421; with campaign of 1359, 434; negotiates treaty of Brétigny, 438; dies of Plague, "the Good Duke," 444; obtains licence for Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, ii. 73.
— John, married to Blanche, daughter of preceding. *See* John of Gaunt.
— Maud of, eldest daughter of last but one, married to William of Bavaria, younger son of Emperor Ludwig or Louis IV, comes to England, dies, 445.
— Blanche of, younger sister of preceding, married to John of Gaunt, son of Edward III, at death of sister succeeds to whole Lancaster inheritance, 445, 446; dies of Third Plague, 493.
— Henry (iii) of, Bolingbroke. *See* Derby, Earls of.
— Henry (iv) of, eldest son of Bolingbroke, afterwards King Henry V, hostage in Richard's hands in Ireland, ii. 349.
— Thomas of, second son of Bolingbroke, Lord High Steward, ii. 368.
Langland, William, his "Piers Plowman", 453; fresh editions of work in 1376, ii. 57; scheme of the work, 79–82; his views of Richard's fall, 361, 362.
La Réole, fortress on Garonne, surrendered to French, 144.
Latimer, le, John, Irish Carmelite, accuses John of Gaunt of conspiring King's death, tortured to death, 214.
— Thomas, killed at Sluys, 280.
— William, Baron, taken prisoner at Bannockburn, 71.
— William, Baron, grandson of preceding, impeached by Good Parliament, ii. 51, 52; on Regency Committee, 110; executor of will of Edward III, 111; on expedition to Brittany (1380), 135.
Lauder, Robert, appointed Justiciar of Lothian, 234.
Launde, Robert, former Sheriff of London, knighted for services against rioters, ii. 160.
Le Bel, Jehan, the historian, serving in England, 189; his impression of the Scots, 193.
Legge, John, Serjeant-at-Arms, Commissioner of Poll-tax, denounced by rioters, ii. 150; beheaded by them, 155.
Lennox, Earl of, Malcolm, killed at Halidon Hill, 231.
Leo, dethroned King of Armenia, mediating between England and France, ii. 232.
Lichfield, Coventry and Chester, Bishops of:
— Walter Langton, Treasurer, dismissed and disgraced by Edward, 5, 6; reinstated, 44; driven from Council, dismissed, 77.
— Roger Northburgh, affiances Edward to Philippa, 195; claims crown of France for Edward, 200; again envoy, 213.

Lichfield, Coventry and Chester, Bishops of (*continued*):
— Walter Skirlaw, holds conference at Leulinghem, ii. 132; translated to Bath, 250.
— John Buckingham, translated from Lincoln, 343.
— Stephen le Scrope, consecrated, ii. 362, note; translated to York, ib.; waits on Richard in the Tower, 362.
Lille-Jourdain, French Count, commanding in Guienne, defeated by Earl of Derby, 313; again, and taken prisoner, 316.
Limoges, sacked by Prince of Wales, ii. 9.
— Bishop of, Jean de Cros, against the English, ii. 9.
Lincoln, Bishops of:
— Henry Burghersh, supporting the Barons, 138; supporting the Queen, 158; extorts abdication from King, 164; Treasurer, 183, note; attests coronation oath of Edward III, 184; accompanies him to France, 201; Chancellor, 203; with Mortimer, 207; on mission abroad, 253; with army in campaign in Cambrésis, 'defies' Philip, 265; at the naval battle of Sluys, 277; dies abroad, 286.
— John Buckingham, persecutes itinerant preachers, ii. 197 and note; translated to Lichfield, 343.
— Henry Beaufort, 343; to Ireland with Richard, 348; returns with him, 355.
Lincoln, Earl of, Henry de Lacy, 4; supports the King, 5; carries sword at coronation, 10; alienated by Gaveston, opposes the King, 12, 13; forces him to banish Gaveston, 14; reconciled to him, and again alienated, 25; on Committee of Ordainers, 29; appointed Regent, 31; his death, 33.
Lindsay, James, of Crawford and Glenesk, taken prisoner at Otterburn, ii. 261; fights duel with John, Baron Welles, 277.
— Alexander, tilts with Ralph, Baron Neville, 277.
Linlithgow, Peel of, recovered by the Scots, 58.
Lionel of Antwerp, second surviving son of Edward III, appointed Warden, during King's absence, 321; sails to Calais, 387, 388; in campaign of 1359, 434; married to Elizabeth de Burgh, heiress of William, Earl of Ulster; sent to Ireland as King's Lieutenant, 446; created Duke of Clarence, 453; holds a local Parliament in Ireland, passes Kilkenny Statutes, 483; recalled, ib. note; marries as second wife Violante Visconti, goes out to Italy, dies, 485.
Llandaff, Bishops of:
— John of Monmouth, on Committee of Ordainers, 29.
— John Egglescliffe, attests coronation oath of Edward III, 184.
— John Pascal, dies of Plague, 445.
Llewelyn, Bren, Welsh Chieftain, in revolt, 79.
Lollards, leading men of position holding Reformation views, William Neville, Louis Clifford, John Montagu, Richard Stury, John Clanvow, Thomas Latimer, ii. 283 and note, 302; their teaching as laid before Merciless Parliament, 284; (*see also* John Aston, Nicholas Hereford, John Purvey, Philip Repingdon); Reforming articles presented to Parliament in 1395, 302.
London, Bishops of:
— Ralph Baldock, Chancellor, dismissed, 4; on Committee of Ordainers, 29.
— Stephen Segrave of Gravesend, endeavouring to mediate, 117 and note; excommunicates disturbers of the peace, 156; faithful to the King, 161; opposes Mortimer, 204.
— Ralph Stratford, supports Archbishop Stratford in disgrace, 289; buys land for new cemetery, 360.
— Michael Northburgh, envoy to France, 383; dies of Plague, 445.
— Simon Tybald of Sudbury, on

committee conferring with Commons, ii. 36 and note; manages Convocation, 38; envoy to Bruges, 38; translated to Canterbury, q. v.
— William Courtenay, plenipotentiary to France, ii. 43; on Parliamentary Committee, 49; on Advisory Committee, 56; insists on appearance of Bishop of Winchester in Convocation, 63; cites Wycliffe to answer for heretical teaching, 63, 64; chaunts Litany at coronation, 108; on Regency Committee, 110; translated to Canterbury, 178.
— Robert Braybroke, marries Richard to Anne, 182; Chancellor, opens Parliament, 186; persecutes itinerant preachers, 197; explains matters in Parliament, 201.
Lorraine, Rodolf, Count of, with French at Crécy, 331, 332; killed, 336.
— Duke of, with French in campaign of 1383 in Flanders, ii. 205.
Louis, eldest son of Philip IV of France, knighted, 51. *See* France, Kings of, "Louis Hutin."
— Duke of Anjou, second son of King John, at battle of Poitiers, 413; created Duke of Anjou, hostage for his father's ransom, 441; breaks his parole, 458, 462; Lieutenant-General of Languedoc, 463; preparing for war, ii. 1; captures Réalville, 2, 3; at Toulouse, 7; triumphant campaign on the Garonne, 8; signs truce with John of Gaunt, 42; invades Gascony and reconquers towns, 111.
Louth, Earl of, Richard Bermingham, created, 103, note.
Lowther, Hugh of, arrests Earl of Carlisle, 135.
Lucy, Anthony, taken prisoner at Bannockburn, 71; arrests Earl of Carlisle, 135.
Ludwig or Louis IV "of Bavaria", Emperor of Germany, marries as second wife Margaret of Hainault, elder sister of Queen Philippa, 252 and note; seals treaty with Edward III, 253; holds Diet at Coblentz and appoints Edward his Vicar-General, makes overtures to France and the Pope, 261; sends contingent to Edward's army in Cambrésis, 266; in alliance with Philip VI, deprives Edward of Vicarship, 292, 293; dies.
Lusignan, Peter of, King of Cyprus, in England, canvassing for a Crusade, 458, 459.
Luxemburg, Henry, Count of, at wedding of Edward II; elected King of the Romans (Henry VII), 9; at coronation of Edward, 10.
Lyons, Richard, London merchant, impeached by Good Parliament, ii. 59; beheaded by Wat Tyler rioters, 155.
Lytster, Geoffrey, dyer, takes lead in Peasant Rising in Norfolk, impresses gentlemen of position, ii. 168; enters Norwich, 'King of the Commons,' losing heart, sends envoy to ask for pardon, 169; retires with forces to North Walsham, attacked by Bishop of Norwich, defeated and hung, 171.

MacMurragh, 'King of Leinster', defies the English, ii. 297; plunders New Ross, 299; again repels Richard's attacks, 349, 350.
Magdalen, Richard, priest with Richard II in 1399, ii. 355.
Malpas, John, kills Edward Bruce and killed by him, 103.
Maltravers, John the younger, in charge of Edward, 167–9; used as agent to ensnare the Earl of Kent, 205; tried for the same, escapes, 209, 210; at Crécy and Poitiers, 170.
Man, Isle of, overrun and annexed by Robert Bruce, 48; wrested from the Scots, given to William Montagu, 232.
Mandeville, Thomas, killed at Carrickfergus, 99.
Manny, Walter (*Watelet de Masni*),

afterwards Lord Manny, comes to England with Philippa, 196; Admiral of the Fleet, destroys Cadsand, Flemish fort, 256; with army in Cambrésis; captures Thun l'Évêque, 265; with the Sluys expedition, 278; succours Countess of Brittany, 298, 299; with the Earl of Derby in Guienne, 315; buys land in Smithfield for cemetery, 359; opens proceedings in Parliament, 389; recovers Berwick, 391; with army of 1359, 435; with John of Gaunt in 1369, ii. 5; dies, 21.

Mar, Earl of, Donald, taken prisoner, released, 75; appointed Regent of Scotland, 218; defeated and killed at Dupplin, 219, 220.

— Henry Talbot, lord of, attends Balliol's Parliament, 233; quarrels with him, 234.

Marcel, Provost of Merchants of Paris, demands reforms, 427, 428; forces Dauphin to assume Regency, intriguing with Navarre, killed, 430; his aims, ib.

March, Earls of (English):

— Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, supports table with robes at coronation, 11; on Standing Council, 92; defeated by Edward Bruce at Kells, 98; King's Lieutenant of Ireland, 100; lands there, 101; repairs losses, 102; summoned to appear before King, 115; comes to London, 118; supporting Badlesmere in revolt, 121; submits, and is sent to the Tower, 123; escapes, 139; joins the Queen in Paris, 151; lands in England with her, 155; pledges Londoners on her behalf, 163; at coronation of Edward III, 184; resolves on peace with Scotland, 195, 196; holds a Round Table, 203; created Earl of March, ib.; attacked, draws the sword and recovers his position, 204; arrested by the King, sent to the Tower, tried and executed, 208, 209.

— Roger Mortimer (ii), grandson of preceding, on Crécy campaign, 319; admitted Earl of March, 387, note; on campaign of 1355, 388; again, on that of 1359, 434; dies on it, 440.

— Edmund, son of preceding, on Parliamentary Committee, ii. 36; appointed to sail with John of Gaunt, 43; on Parliamentary Committee, 49; on Advisory Committee, 56; ordered on foreign service, resigns Marshal's Staff, 60; carries Sword at coronation of Richard II, 107; on Regency Committee, 110; married to Philippa of Clarence, 186; dies, 186 and note; successful Governor of Ireland, 298.

— Roger (iii), son of preceding by Philippa of Clarence, 186; recognized as heir presumptive to the Crown, 229; to Ireland with Richard, 299; King's Lieutenant, 302; on Standing Committee, 335; dies, 344, 345.

March, Earls of (Scottish):

— Patrick Dunbar, on English side, 55; entertains and assists Edward II, 72; in command of troops on Scottish side, 218; obliged to disband them, 220; in command of Berwick during siege, 228; at Halidon Hill; makes peace with Edward, 232; attends Balliol's Parliament, 233; changes sides, 239; in command on Scottish side at Neville's Cross, 341; rejects truce and captures town of Berwick, 390; with French at battle of Poitiers, 413.

— George Dunbar, burns village of Roxburgh (in English hands), ii. 111; entertains John of Gaunt, 177; wins battle of Otterburn, 259–61.

March, Agnes, Countess of, wife of Patrick, defends Dunbar Castle against the English, 293, 294.

Mardesley, John, Franciscan, denies temporal authority of Papacy, 39.

Marmion, John, with expedition of 1386 to Spain, ii. 231; dies on it, 270.

Marshall, Anselm, killed at Bannockburn, 71.

— John, follower of the Despensers, beheaded, 157.
— William, of Hengham, on Committee of Ordainers, 29; killed at Bannockburn, 71.
Martin, William, of Kemys, on Committee of Ordainers, 29.
Mauley, Edmund de, killed at Bannockburn, 62, 71.
Menteith, John of, invades Ireland with Edward Bruce, 95.
— Murthac, Earl of, in command at battle of Dupplin, 219; killed, 220.
— Murdoch Stewart, Earl of, killed at Halidon Hill, 231.
— John Graham, Earl of, his advice neglected, taken prisoner at Neville's Cross, 342; executed, 344.
Middleton, Gilbert of, arrests Cardinals, 88; arrested and executed, 89.
Minot, Lawrence, poet, his writings, 262, ii. 77.
Minsterworth, John, Gloucestershire knight, serving under Knolles, mutinies, defeated by Du Guesclin, accuses Knolles, turns traitor, hung, ii. 12.
Misnia or Meissen, Frederic, Margrave of, with Edward III in campaign of 1339, 266; again with him at siege of Tournay, 282; joins campaign of 1359, 434.
Molai, Jacques de, Grand Master of the Temple, arrested by Philip IV, 18; dies proclaiming innocence of his Order, 20, note.
Molyneux, Constable of Chester, in command of levies, killed, 247.
Montagu, William of Shepton Montagu, assists Edward to seize Mortimer, 207; receives grants of land, 211; with army in Scotland, 227; at Halidon Hill, 230; invested with Isle of Man, ib.; created Earl of Salisbury, 250.
— John, Steward of Household, sits in judgement on Londoners in Tower, ii. 217.
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— Lawrence Hastings, created, on the Sluys expedition, 277 and note.

— John, son of preceding, takes reinforcements to Aquitaine, 490; refuses to act under Chandos, raids Poitou, ii. 4; relieves and evacuates Belleperche, 7; sails to England with Prince of Wales, 10; attacks clergy in Parliament, 14; married to Anne, daughter of Margaret, Countess of Norfolk, by Walter, Lord Manny, 21; appointed King's Lieutenant of Aquitaine, intercepted off La Rochelle by Spaniards, defeated and taken prisoner, 22; dies, 23.

— John, son of preceding, killed in tournament, 278.

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— Percy, Henry (ii), son of preceding, with army of 1373, ii. 32; on Parliamentary Committee, 49; on Advisory Committee, 56; escorts Wycliffe to St. Paul's, 64; mobbed, escapes, 65; created Earl of Northumberland, 110; ravages Roxburghshire and Berwickshire, 111; refuses shelter to John of Gaunt, ordered to bring him to court, apologizes to him, 177; well received in London, 178; presses Scots for arrears of David's ransom, 210; on invasion of Scotland, left in charge of the Border, 211; censured for allowing Berwick to be lost, recovers it, 216; with army of 1385, 223; arranges meeting between Richard and Appellant Lords, 249; at ceremonial meetings between Richard and Charles VI, 309; his allowance for the keeping of Eastern Marches, 315; on Standing Committee, 335; joins Bolingbroke, 352; receives Richard's submission on terms, 357, 358; delivers him to Bolingbroke, 359; waits on him in the Tower, 363; Constable, 368.

— Thomas, brother to Henry (i), Seneschal of Poitou, ii. 7;

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— Henry, "Hotspur," eldest son of Henry (ii), Duke of Northumberland, sallying from Calais, captures Cassel and Bourbourg, ii. 234; defeated and taken prisoner at Otterburn (Chevy Chase), 257, 261.
— Thomas (ii), younger son of Henry, Duke of Northumberland, on expedition of 1386 to Spain, 231; dies on it, 270.
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— youngest son of King John, at battle of Poitiers, 417. *See* Burgundy, Dukes of.
Philippa, second daughter of William II of Hainault, Count of Holland, engaged to Edward of Windsor, 154; married to him, 195; crowned, gives birth to son, Edward of Woodstock, 206; at Bamborough during siege of Berwick, 228; sails to Antwerp, 259; staying at Ghent, 278; son John born there, 281; dines in hall with King, 306; intercedes for garrison at Calais, 348; at wedding of Prince of Wales, 447; dies of Third Plague, 493.
— of Clarence, only daughter of Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarence, by Elizabeth De Burgh, married to Edmund Mortimer, Third Earl of March, stem of Plantagenet dynasty, 485; dies, 186, note.
— daughter of John of Gaunt, sails with him to Spain, ii. 231.
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Pickering, James, Knight, Speaker, refuses subsidy, ii. 123.
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— John XXII, election, 84; grants Edward proceeds of a Crusade Tenth, 85; proclaims truce with Scotland, appoints Cardinals Gaucelin d'Euse and Luca dei Fieschi to enforce it, ib.; in despair about English affairs, 90; orders excommunication of Bruce to be republished, 110; at prayer of Scottish people suspends it, 111; appoints John Stratford Bishop of Winchester, 139; urges Edward to settle with France, 142; and to send Isabelle as envoy, 147; grants clerical Tenths to King, 175; seals dispensation for King's marriage, 195; grants Tenths to Edward, 233; dies, 238, note; translates Adam Orleton to Winchester to please Philip VI, 240.
— Benedict XII, elected, presses Edward to grant truce to the Scots, 238; translates English Bishops without consulting King, 240; sends Cardinals to mediate between England and France, 254; dies, 301.
— Clement VI, as Abbot of Fécamp on mission to England, 200; elected Pope, strives for peace between England and France, 301; invades English preferment, 304; untiring in efforts for peace, accredits Cardinals, 317, 318; dies, 381.
— Innocent VI (Etienne Aubert, a Limousin), consecrated, 381; zealous for peace, 383; presses Prince of Wales with offers, 399; recalls Cardinals, mediates between France and Navarre, 432; grants dispensation for marriage of Prince of Wales, 446; remonstrates with Edward on his conduct, 448; dies, 458, note.
— Urban V, consecrated, preaches a new Crusade, 458, note; demands arrears of rent-charge, 464; pays blackmail to Free Lances, 468; quashes betrothal of Edmund of Langley to Margaret of Flanders, 494; dies, ii. 12; emancipates University of Oxford from authority of Bishop of Lincoln, 72.
— Gregory XI (Pierre Roger de Beaufort), elected and crowned, ii. 12; appoints Cardinals Jean de Dormans and Simon Langham to mediate for peace, 16; demands 100,000 florins from English clergy for war with the Florentines, 37, 38; appoints Bruges place for a conference, 37; publishes *Concordat* with England, 45, 46; condemns nineteen "Propositions" by Wycliffe, 115; orders him to be arrested, 117; removes from Avignon to Rome, dies, 126.
— Urban VI (Bartolommeo Prigdano), elected, ii. 127; remains at Rome, election disputed, 128; recognized by England, Hungary, and Portugal, ib. and note; grants two Crusades, one in favour of John of Gaunt against Spain, the other in favour of Despenser, Bishop of Norwich, against Anti-Pope Clement VII, 187; deposes Juan I, King of Castile, confers crown on John of Gaunt, and proclaims Crusade, 230; translates Archbishop Neville to St. Andrews, 256; translates Rushook, Bishop of Chichester, to Kilmore in Ireland, ib.; dies, 273.
— Boniface IX (Pietro Tomacelli), elected, 273; quashes Statutes of Provisors and *Praemunire* of 1390, accredits Nuncio, 279; attempts to force a Cardinal into prebendal stall already disposed of, 288; demands repeal of Statutes of Provisors and *Praemunire*, 303; legitimates the Beauforts, 319, note; translates Archbishop Thomas FitzAlan to St. Andrews, 332.
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— Benedict XIII (Pedro de Luna), elected and crowned, ii. 306, note, 310, 311.
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— Michael, son of preceding, on Crécy campaign, 319.
— Richard, son of preceding, with army of 1386, ii. 231; dies on it, 270.
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— William, of Colluthy, with French at battle of Poitiers, 413.
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